REPORT RESUMES

ED 019 546 AC 000 883

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS VIEW POVERTY AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM, PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR (5TH, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, SEPTEMBER 11-14, 1966).
NATIONAL UNIV. EXTENSION ASSN., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
MICHIGAN ST. UNIV., EAST LANSING

PUB DATE 66

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$4.80 118P.

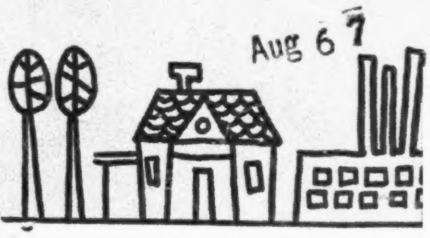
DESCRIPTORS- *COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, *ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGEMENT, *SOCIAL CHANGE, MANPOWER UTILIZATION, SOCIAL PLANNING, GEOGRAPHY, ECOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS, COMMUNITY ACTION, SOCIOLOGY, SOCIAL WORK, LAW ENFORCEMENT, SIMULATION, SYSTEMS ANALYSIS, NETWORKS, CITY PLANNING, POLITICAL SCIENCE, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY,

A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR, WHICH FOCUSED ON RELATING VARIOUS SOCIAL SCIENCES TO THE ISSUES OF POVERTY, INCLUDED PAPERS ON SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF POVERTY, POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY THE POOR, MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT NEEDS, GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS IN POVERTY, URBAN PLANNING, POLICE SERVICES, APPLICATIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY, PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE AND TRAINING, A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, ELEMENTS OF LOCATION THEORY (THE STUDY OF DECISION MAKING PROCESSES IN THE USE OF RESOURCES), ECOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES, AND THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS AND RELEVANT PROBLEMS. CHARTS AND DIAGRAMS ILLUSTRATE THE CONCEPT OF NETWORK ANALYSIS, PHASES OF COMMUNITY ACTION, AND ECOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS FOR CLASSIFYING CITIES IN REGARD TO SOCIAL CHANGE. THE DOCUMENT INCLUDES THREE REFERENCES FOR THE PAPER ON LOCATION THEORY. (LY)

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

AC000 883 I
c. 2

Aug 67



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Institute for Community Development

ED019546

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS VIEW POVERTY AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

AC 000 883
c.2

CID

Proceedings of the Fifth National Community Development Seminar
National University Extension Association
Kellogg Center, Michigan State University
September 11-14, 1966

CONTINUING EDUCATION SERVICE / MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

These proceedings result from the Fifth National Community Development Seminar held at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, September 11-14, 1966.

The focus of the Seminar was on an examination of the relation of the social science disciplines to community development through a continuing attention to the issue of poverty. Any social problem could have been selected as the focal point. However, poverty is a major social issue in our society today. It is one we come into contact with daily as we work with field problems. Often as we consult with communities, engage in research, or devise and implement training programs we fail to understand the nature of the resources available within the university.

The papers presented here attempt to make us aware of the contributions of the social science disciplines to the understanding of poverty. Professional practitioners in related social science fields also demonstrate how they work with the poverty issue. Finally, a number of papers are concerned with theories relevant to community development.

The major intent of the planners of the Seminar was to merge theory and practice in community development. It is our hope that your reading of these papers will add to your sum of knowledge in this area. However, it must be kept in mind that much of the learning in any seminar takes place on the informal level through questions and answers, statements of participants, and the exchange of ideas. This material is not easily published in seminar proceedings.

Hopefully, those engaged in community development will take advantage of the opportunity to attend future seminars to broaden their knowledge of the complex nature of their profession.

Seminar Committee

Albert E. Levak, Chairman
Iwao Ishino
Charles Press

Dr. Robert C. Anderson
Assistant Professor
Institute for Community Development

A SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW OF POVERTY AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM WITHIN THE COMMUNITY CONTEXT

I come here with several disadvantages. I was working feverishly in my yard the other day, bent over and dropped my glasses on concrete and that put an end to my vision. Now, I see blurs out there and if my presentation is blurred, we are going to blame it to that. The other disadvantage is that I just returned from vacation. I have been swimming in oceans and travelling the countryside and I feel a pinch of poverty in my pockets; but despite this I will try to address myself to the topic assigned. Poverty within the community context and the contribution that sociologists may or may not be making or have potential to make.

I am going to talk about the main problems of poverty as dealt with by the discipline of sociology, the body of literature available through the discipline and some of the recent problems the discipline has found as it tries to relate itself to poverty.

Whatever definition you want to give to poverty, in general, I could say that the community of sociologists is indeed impoverished. As a scientific discipline, I am quite convinced that we do not know how to get ourselves out of the poverished category.

I can cite some concrete examples of this. We have had it so good recently in the sociological discipline that we held our last annual convention in the Fontainebleau Hotel in Miami. I have just returned from there. As sociologists, we were living it up like we were from the other side of the tracks; but little did we realize that as we started living like we were affluent that this affluenc is only relative to the affluence of a sociological discipline of 5, 10, 15, 20 years ago and not to today's standards for a science discipline. True sociologists are now in demand, money is easy for them to get and research opportunities are available. However, after a visit to the Nassau Space Center and I am now quite convinced, as you see the million dollar, multi-million dollar expenditure of energies of efforts and research aimed at getting to the moon that the sociology profession as a behavioral science is truly an impoverished part of our society. So when we are talking about poverty we are talking about ourselves. All right, so we are talking about relative things. From one image or one position the discipline of sociology looks very good but, viewed from another position for another point of view, sociology looks very bad.

In the August edition of "American Sociologist," a new publication in the discipline, a letter to the editor opened with this "ditty." I think this answers in part what some of the problems of the sociological discipline are, as it relates to poverty. The "ditty" goes like this:

> "Where have all the sociologists gone? To build models everyone. .
> Who shall do the work which must be done? Graduate students who
> failed Statistics I."

These are the bitter sentiments of a sociologist who recently responded to the notion that a behavioral scientist could play a significant role in the pragmatic resocialization project called the "War on Poverty." He happens to be an ex-professor of Sociology at Michigan State University; and his attack was in part on us his colleagues at Michigan State University. As I develop the theme of what is sociology and how it contributes, I want you to keep in mind this dilemma. There is a very high professional price to be paid by any sociologist who is willing to get his hands dirtied in "down to earth" social action programs.

So much for the negative side of the sociologist's contribution to our understanding and correction of poverty in the community. Now to the positive.

My thesis is that given the impoverished state of the sociology discipline-the young state of the discipline--sociologists really know a great deal about human behavior--much more than we realize. If we would only start using what knowledge sociologists have developed and use it effectively, as some sectors of society (the Business World) have used it, great strides in addressing the human problems of the impoverished could be made. Sociological data and sociologists themselves do have influences on community activities whether the specific communities know it or not. I will submit that there are not many sociologists running around saving local communities. In fact, you may not even find one in your community; but the influence and the impact of their work engulfs you in your community development work. This is true whether you are working at the impoverished level or with people making decisions on whethe to buy a 65 or 75 foot yacht. I also submit that while we in extention, sometimes feel that it is impossible to secure the services of men such as sociologists. There are ways in which to entice, induce, secure the cooperation of sociologists and their sociological data at the community level.

So this is my main point, I'm moving from the very blue lament, "Where have the sociologists gone?" To a very optimistic view they are here, they are available and we can use them and their data in the solution of poverty problems in communities.

Now, what are we talking about? What is Sociology?

Sociology is a scientific study of people as they live in groups. It is a science interested in how groups rise and fall, the similarities, the differences, how groups affect individuals and how individuals affect groups, interaction patterns of people in aggregate situations and emerging patterns of structures of life as a result of this human activity. Sociology engages in at least three types of scientific inquiry.

First and foremost sociology operates as a descriptive science. What is a descriptive science? It is an honest unbiased--attempt to observe and state the condition of society. It is the simple recording of the actions of people. It doesn't ask the question why or how, or search for casual explanations of the situation. It simply describes the situation. The bulk of the sociological literature we now have is of the descriptive order. A great deal of it is not only accurate but useful in that it identifies, describes the root causes of many types of poverty.

The second type of sociology that we deal with is--sociology, a predictive science. In this case sociologists test descriptive variables that were generated from the descriptive phase of the science. They test the descriptive variables for causation effects. What is the result when actions A, B, C, and D, are fitted to actions E and F? Will X, Y, and Z be the results? Can we predict human behavior based on our description, with some causal inference hypotheses put to the descriptions? How can we alter the situation? This is the realm to which sociologists are now flocking. They are getting a bit bored with the simple descriptive, survey type studies. They are trying to build models that would portray, would synthesize, would simulate modern society.

This leads to a dilemma for a sociologist interested in becoming involved in social action. The fashion in sociology is to "build a model." Build a predictive formula about society and you will get professional rewards. But model builders cannot and will not objectively test their models by becoming involved in social actions. So the trend, I suppose if there is a trend in the discipline, is away from descriptive studies. We are now several years into the model building or the predictive phase of sociology.

Finally, as all sciences, sociology attempts to apply knowledge. Applied science is the putting of sociological data to work. This is where the social planner, the policy maker, the engineer carries out and, in my terms, validates the descriptive-predictive models and assertions of the model builder. At the present time, little applied research is being carried on in the sociological discipline. The applied science of sociology has been traditionally relegated to the professional schools of social work, education and others.

Sociologists have not, in large quantities or in very massive ways, gone about to validate many of their predicted formulations in the real life laboratory of your community. They tried it in the early days of the discipline, when their descriptive knowledge was not quite as good as it is now, and got their fingers burned. Applied social science is a very dangerous and a very hazardous business to be in. So sociologists are quite reluctant to go out, as behavioral scientists, and try to save the world with their models. Nevertheless, I submit to you that many sociologists would be delighted if they had a laboratory in which to do their experimentation; in which to validate their assertions. A laboratory that is not subject to all the political pressures and the whims and wishes of small groups in Washington or in Podunk Junction who are likely to cancel an experiment on the spur of the moment because of political or economic pressures. Once a scientist goes into field experimentation he wants to see the results, be they good or bad. He doesn't want to see work stopped or cut or gutted midway in the project. Unfortunately, this is all too often the experience of the behavioral scientists and other scientists as they attempt to do action research. Consequently, they have tried to avoid this by doing their action research in artificial laboratories where they can build controlled populations. This work is generally done in universities or schools where they have a captured population of students to experiment with; and they know they can carry their experimental formulations to completion.

That is the state of the discipline as I see it. That's what the discipline of sociology is all about. Now, what are some of the data, some of the variables, some of the concerns that relate directly or indirectly to the problem we call poverty. I am going to touch on just a few aspects of sociological subject matter of relevance to this problem.

The first types of variables related to poverty that are now well worked out and researched, deal with the human being on the individual level. At this level, we note that the notion of self-concept has a great deal of effect and influence on causes of poverty and as such becomes a treatment factor of poverty. "I am what I think I am. I am what I am because I pay attention to what reference groups and other people think I ought to be." There is a rich body of literature on self-concept and I could give several examples of its application. Take for example, the basketball team that by any set of standards for basketball players didn't have a "basketball player" on the team. But lucked into the tournament, played over their heads, won some games, and went on to be state champions because they firmly believed that they were a basketball team and they individually were good basketball players. We know that there are great things to be done at the individual level with the self-concept notion and this literature is well worked out.

We also know that the individual motivation forces have been identified and can be manipulated. What does it take to induce me to cooperate as an individual? The whole range of inducement and involvement of the individual in collective behavior is one of the problems of poverty. There is also a wide range of motivational forces that we know about, that we can manipulate and that we can work.

These forces may be characterized ranging from cohersive to renumerative to normative. I think all too often we get wrapped up in the democratic ideology that says really the only proper way to secure motivation-involvement is in the democratic normative way. Under certain conditions and at certain times this is indeed a very proper type of motivational structure to use. However, none of us would let our kids decide normatively whether they want to go to school or not. We are not about to let them decide not to go. Likewise in the current poverty program I don't think we are about to take the same stance we did with the American Indians, "Let them sit in the sun." Just isolate them hoping they will get the spirit and move toward white man's life style in a normative way. We'll use cohersion, renumeration, and a number of other motivational techniques to secure compliance in a predefined direction. Today we have the knowledge base to predict the kinds of behavior that various motivational structures are likely to illicit from any given segment of our society. A great deal is known about motivation involvement variables. This knowledge is used very successfully and extensively in our bureaucratic business structures. There is no reason why it shouldn't work equally well in the broader context of the community structure.

We know also a great deal about the diffusion of ideas. We have a whole range of diffusion literature from rural sociology. We know how to get a peasant agrarian to accept new technology, new ideas, learn how to read, learn how to master complex chemical and biological formulas, learn how to farm scientifically. All we have to do, is start applying this information in a different context. Why must all diffusion work and the adoption of new ideas be limited to agriculture? Why not try to adopt some of these ideas and techniques in other segments of society? Why not use this body of sociological information in the "War Against Poverty?"

Now let me shift to a group dimension. Poverty is also a group phenomenon. What are some types of data relating to group phenomenon that you and I use every day? First is the demographic data which identifies, types, and gives location of our population. It tells us whether our pockets of poverty are centered or diffused. It tells us about the income range, the age grade, employment situation of the population. There is a wealth of information in descriptive demographic literature that gives strong indications of the state of poverty and also gives clues to the corrective treatment for different types of poverished conditions.

We also have a body of literature and a conern about the referent group influence on human group behavior. None of us react or behave solely as individuals on an individual self-concept. We do it in relation to reference groups. What do other people expect of us? There is a rich literature on reference groups and how you can use the reference group concept to elicit behavioral changes in individuals, in groups, and in organizations.

We at the Institute think so much of this notion, we are building a Career Opportunity Guide program for youth to be activated through the reference group influence of their parents, their counselors, and teachers. We think we can upgrade the occupational productivity of a given community by treating the referent groups, parents, counselors, and teachers with a treatment that would broaden their base of understanding of the demands in tomorrow's world of work. This I think is an application, at the community level, of a highly significant sociological principle.

We know about the clique, the small group, the influence of an informal organization visiting patterns on the behavior of people. We can use this to an advantage and we do. We also know about occupational constraints covered in the whole literature of the sociology of occupations. Professor Kruger, I trust, will be talking in greater detail on this.

Let me move quickly to another level, a broader level, the organizational and institutional studies. They are also very viable subjects to the sociologists and they also are a limiting factor relating to poverty causation and poverty alleviation. We know a great deal about the organizational setting of our society. We know about how to control bureaucracy, how to build them, in fact the formalized organization and institution have become one of the most stable and reliable control mechanisms in society. The fact that I am a faculty member of this University tells you that I am going to behave in a certain way because of organizational constraints that are put about me, because of my involvement and membership into this organization. There are many control variations that we can add and gain degrees of flexibility from this very stable control mechanism. We can centralize and decentralize. We can diffuse decision making. While we do it very effectively in complex bureaucratic structures such as General Motors, our record is not so good when we look at our design of communities. We tend to view the community as some sort of an unorganized ameba. There is no centralized control. No one calls the shots. We haven't quite adapted many organizational principles or accommodated the organizational principles that we know in either our understanding or operations of the community.

Roland Warren's book on The Community in America leads us in this direction. I think new literature coming out is going to help us understand the community, the control points, the control people--using Mr. Ed Alchin's term. Literature that helps us turn the right knob to effect specific reactions in specific parts of the city. For example, we know that solution of community poverty problems are not necessarily achieved by a democratically based strategy that would involve all the poor people of the community.

Everybody in a community, in contrast to many adult education programs, does not necessarily need to know about or be involved in the program planning or the implementation state. The conditions for people as well as organizational involvement in poverty alleviation programs should be based on what is the function that such involvement will contribute to the task at hand? If the contribution such persons or organizations have to offer is a functional attribute that is essential and necessary for the achievement of the goal, then they ought to be involved. If they have no functional and necessary contribution to make, then a parsomonious model would say, they shouldn't be involved.

In an all too brief and rambling manner I have attempted to demonstrate that sociology has a great deal to offer communities in the solution of poverty problems. True, few of us have fully hatched ready-made program solutions. But there are many proven sociological principles and guidelines available for use in the design of effective anti-poverty community programs. The sociologists are not "gone" they are "here" and the impact of their work can be and no doubt is a profound one in any community, least of all your community.

Dr. Charles Press, Chairman
Department of Political Science, and
Institute for Community Development

POLITICAL SCIENCE AS IT RELATES TO POVERTY AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

I think it is inevitable that those of us who are speakers are going to cover some of the same materials, since the social sciences are becoming more iterrelated. Besides, it has been my experience that sociologists stake out a very broad area which includes political science and almost everything else and so I may repeat some of the points made by the previous speaker. But I will attempt to cover some of what still remains.

My topic is "What Are Problems of Political Science Relevant to Community Development?" I want to discuss two broad problems; and the first of these only very briefly. These are the problems of intergovernmental relations and that of citizen participation in a democracy.

Some political scientists are very interested in the problem of what they call the new federalism. Their focus is the effect of federal programs designed to help urban dwellers, as for example the war on poverty, on the way our federal system operates. They ask whether, in effect, the states are being by-passed and a new kind of system is being built. A recent column by James Reston in the New York Times based on his visit to Detroit describes a new kind of local governmental-private system of cooperation which has become more prevalent in recent times. The new federalism, he says, involves the mayors of big cities, sometimes county officials, leaders of private organizations and private foundations, universities, and the federal government. The states notably play a smaller role. This topic was also discussed at the recent meetings of the American Political Science Association, which I have just returned from and it is an important issue. Nevertheless, I felt that the problem of federal arrangements was of less interest to you than the more basic one of political participation and the competence of citizens in a democracy. It is this subject that I intend to devote most of my comments.

The problem of political participation cuts across many areas of political science. Those interested in developmental administration in the new nations are concerned with it and it is also relevant to studies in developed nations, such as the United States. The first extensive empirical investigations of participation by citizens in elections were made in the United States. The Survey Research Center at Ann Arbor and the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University pioneered in this effort. The Berelson book entitled Voting and the book by Campbell and others entitled The American Voter are the basic studies. The findings reported in each challenge some of the basic assumptions long held about democratic participation. For example, the studies demonstrated that most citizens have very low information about government and politics. A study of local voting argued that many citizens had so little information they could not vote intelligently but this judgment is one most political scientists are unwilling to make. Voting studies also documented the low participation, particularly by those of low status and low income. They suggested the democratic government was in a sense a middle class kind of operation. Finally, the overall impact of the studies indicated that in few elections was there a clear mandate from the voters, since voters made their choices on so many different bases, including the personality of candidates, and partisan tradition, and even such irrelevancies as the fact they did not like Dewey's mustache or Truman's letters to music critics. Other studies have looked at other kinds of political participation such as writing letters to congressmen, contributing to campaigns, etc. and have likewise concluded that participation was low and related positively to social status.

Another groups of studies challenging democratic assumptions were made by sociologists and political scientists, beginning with the Lynd's study of Middletown. The study by Hunter of Atlanta in 1951 was especially important since it led to many other studies by political scientists and sociologists. Political scientists, until World War II, had largely been interested only in studying local governmental structure. Later, they became concerned in what happens when political decisions are made in a community or, as the political scientist Harold Lasswell phrased it, who gets what when and how? Or as another, David Easton put it, what is the authoritative allocation of values? The findings of the community studies were similar to those of the voting studies. In almost every community, political actives were found who had much more influence on the decisions than the big broad mass of the people; particularly those at the poverty level were largely excluded from the decision making process.

A third type of study related to participation by the poverty groups. It was noted, for example, that in poverty group elections often less than 6% of the potential voters went to the polls. Despite the sometime successful experiments of persons like Saul Alinsky, most political scientists were skeptical about the possibility of effective political organization for such groups. They observed that the only times poverty groups have been organized politically is when they have rioted or when they have been manipulated by political machines. This same problem faces leaders in the new nations. Their first experiments with democratic forms often have led to instability and then to a movement, in many cases, toward a more authoritarian system because of the difficulty of raising people quickly to full democratic participation when such persons are a poverty subsistence level and have little education. The low income groups in America at the turn of the century, the ethnics who could not speak the English language, were also at a tremendous disadvantage in the political process. The Irish, because they at least spoke a version of the English language, were able to move into political positions of leadership more easily than others and were perhaps the first of the later immigrants to move into the urban middle class. In time, other ethnic groups also made the long journey up into the middle class, but this often took two or three generations. The initial political experience of the immigrant groups was with the urban political machines. These machines, it should be noted, served many short range purposes for such groups, despite their corruption. The sociologist Robert Merton has suggested that the importance of the machine in large cities was that it served functional needs for the people living in the slums at a subsistence level. The machine took their children out on picnics, it helped young people when they got into trouble with the police, it sometimes delivered coal in the winter, and gave many other welfare type benefits to the urban immigrant.

Recently studies of low income participation have emphasized the alienation of such groups from society. Their participation can some times be viewed as a form of protest to what the members of the group regard as the power structure. These studies of alienation and protest voting have concentrated on such issues as fluoridation and sometimes elections of local candidates. A study by Murray Levin describes the defeat in a Boston mayoralty race of the frontrunner named Powers by a political unknown named Collins. Powers was supported by the Kennedy family and almost every one of the other powerful factions within the Democratic Party. Levin interviewed voters a week after this election. Powers had been Speaker of the House, had a good record in government, and was considered to be an able politician. Collins used the slogan, "Let's get rid of Power politics," and it proved to be very affective. Levin suggested that many people voted against Powers in order to somehow vent their frustrations against the establishment by voting an outsider rather than an insider. These studies are similar to those made in pre-Nazi Germany that suggested that the Nazi party often gained votes from the marginal lower middle class person who vented his frustrations with the system in this fashion.

I have noted, now, a number of studies that suggest how political scientists view the problem of political participation. We often assume that political participation for citizens is somehow free. This is not the case. I should now like to call to your attention notions borrowed from economics that some of us regard as very useful in such analyses. I wish to talk about participation costs and information costs in respect to low income and low educated groups. When we ask such groups to participate in the democratic process we are saying they should vote and participate because the decisions of the process directly affect them. We are thus trying to build up in them political competence. In other words, we are trying to persuade them to act in ways that are consistent with the consequences of their actions. However, if one looks at such participation in terms of information costs, one quickly concludes that most such persons can only get the information they need at a relatively high personal cost. Information costs in fact, become higher for the individual the farther down one goes in the social scale and the individual is, therefore, less likely to pay such costs. The less education are less likely to see the implications of participation and they are less likely to know where they can get the needed information to vote competently. If, for example, there is a separate registration system, as is the case in Michigan where persons must register now every two years if they do not vote in that period, the low income groups are more likely not to know the rules. If for example, voting machines are used they are less likely to vote for all offices. In fact, as soon as any requirement is added to the process, the information costs are raised and the low income groups are less likely to participate effectively if at all. In this way, I think, the concept of information costs helps explain a great deal of what happens when you attempt to get low income and low educated people to participate politically. I should add that many political scientists believe that we make the costs of gaining information about some elections outrageously high, even for the most politically astute in the community. When there are 50 or 60 candidates in a primary, the costs of gaining information about each one is so great that most people are unwilling to pay them and this is, in fact, probably a rational position. Thus, in some cases the democratic system, particularly at state and local level, has placed too many demands on the average citizen. He is asked to vote on complicated referenda and if he spent his time getting all the information he requires, he would have little time to do his regular job. Such democratic forms often began in rural areas where information costs were less because the citizen could know all the candidates fairly well and where he could thus form a reasonably rational decision with little effort. In applying such forms to big city conditions, the information costs amount very much for the individual and this is particularly true in lower income areas.

The related point is that participation costs are also generally higher for the low income and low educated person. He may have to take time away from his job to vote, and this may be very difficult. He tends to have less free time and, thus, is less likely to want to become involved in party politics in such free time. If he votes at dinner hours, he will find generally the longest lines. Up until now I have only spoken about the normal costs of participation. In some areas, the Negro faces special costs where he is intimidated and prevented from participating in politics by semi-legal and outright illegal means. In such places, voting or other political participation may mean the loss of job or even personal injury. But these are special conditions. But even for the average citizen the participation costs are perhaps higher than they need be.

Let me now deal with a related issue. Some political scientists have argued that perhaps participation need not be as great as we once supposed for a democracy to exist. They emphasize that costs should be made minimal and that if under such conditions persons do not participate, citizens are probably satisfied with the system as it operates. They would emphasize that the image of each voter acting as his own philosopher is perhaps an incorrect model for democracies since it would lead to too much conflict in elections.

These speculations are related to a deeper problem troubling political scientists. That is, the linkages between the citizen and the public official. In the past, it was assumed almost implicitly that the only link was at election time and perhaps when organized interest groups lobbied. But it is now clear that there are other more subtle linkages. The elections do not always provide mandates, but somehow in other ways the feelings of the electorate are transmitted to the leaders. Finding such channels has been a topic of great interest to some political scientists.

Let me now review my general argument. We have a basic problem of developing political competence among low income and low educated groups within society. Particularly the Negroes, in urban society as well as in rural areas, fall into this category. There are some of the new left who argue these persons can be effectively organized and brought into the political process very quickly. Others are much more skeptical and argue that creating political competence requires a generation or so of learning. Most political scientists would, I think, agree with the position I outlined above--that participation costs and information costs should be dropped to the minimal level. But even if this is accomplished they are unsure of whether or not all groups will participate to their full potential in a democracy or whether it is unhealthy for the system if they do not do so.

In the most recent American Political Science Review there is an exchange between Robert Dahl of Yale and Jack Walker of the University of Michigan. Walker is accusing Dahl of, in effect, assuming that some people will never be able to participate in democratic government and is unconsciously writing them off. Walker argues that a greater attempt should be made to find out how such people can be brought successfully into the democratic process. Behind Walker's arguments are the assumptions taken from Plato that participation in the political process helps make man a fuller man and more complete individual. You will find the same idea expressed in non-political kinds of study. As children grow up, it is argued, they should be encouraged to make their own decisions. Only in this way will they begin to stand on their own feet and develop their own potentiality. The same kind of argument can be made in behalf of the poverty groups and of the illiterate persons living at a subsistence level in the new nations. I suppose in both cases the practical leader aims at a balance between the risk anarchy on the one hand and the risks of too much direction on the other.

The problem I have outlined of political participation and political competence is a central one in political science and one in which research is really just beginning.

Dr. Daniel H. Kruger, Professor
Associate Director, School of
Labor and Industrial Relations

A LABOR ECONOMIST VIEWS PROVERTY AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

The focus of my presentation is on the relationship and interrelationship of manpower and poverty. A more effective utilization of manpower resources can do much to alleviate the economic dimension of poverty.

To put the discussion into perspective, there is a need to understand that manpower is affected by, what I call, a system of change. The components in the system are interrelated and interdependent. A change in one affects the others in varying degrees. The four components are: technological, economic, social and legislative changes. Time does not permit an examination of each of these components which are affecting manpower utilization. I do, however, want to discuss briefly one aspect of social change.

One of the important social changes taking place, and which is directly related to the concern over poverty, is that the rules of the game have been changed. For a long time, too long, we had a policy of exclusion with respect to employment. Employers developed a host of screens such as educational requirements, health, testing, age, sex, race, which excluded large numbers of persons from the world of work. These screens had as their objective to seek out the best qualified man for the job.

Employers--both public and private--set these requirements and then their employment managers sought out job applicants to fit these requirements. If applicants did not measure up, they were excluded.

This policy has been changed primarily as a result of legislation enacted in recent years. From a policy of exclusion, we--as a society--have moved to a policy of inclusion. This means that we are attempting to include all citizens in the mainstream of American life.

This is a significant change in policy. One of the difficulties is to get institutions to modify, alter and change long-established customs and practices. By institutions, I mean all institutions--schools, employers, unions, universities, public employment service, etc. The change in policy is directed to the disadvantaged. With respect to employment, efforts are being made to go out into the community in order to identify these people and then proceed to develop programs which will improve their employability.

In looking at poverty, there is a tendency to think of poverty as being rooted in a single phenomenon. Of course, from an economic viewpoint, the most important measure of poverty is the absence of cash or other means to secure the basic essentials of life. One popular notion is that those in the poverty group could get needed income if they were only willing to work. This notion lumps together all those in the poverty groups as being lazy and indolent.

The fallacy of this notion is exposed when one examines the six groupings of poor persons according to their labor force status, broadly defined:

1. There are those who are not able to work because of their age. About 16 percent of the poor are 65 years of age and over.
2. There are those who are able and qualified for work, but cannot find a job.
3. There are those who are underemployed or those who have been screened out as a result of not meeting employer's hiring requirements.
4. There are those who are not equipped to fill available jobs either because they do not have the necessary skills or their skills have become obsolete or they do not possess the necessary educational requirements.

5. There are those poor persons who live in a locality where the former means of livelihood have ceased to exist--Appalachia, certain parts of the Upper Peninsula and rural America are cases in point. This suggests that there are several types of poverty:

   a. personal poverty--e.g. individual,
   b. group poverty--e.g. Negroes, Spanish-speaking Americans,
   c. community poverty--e.g. a particular locality as noted above.

6. There are those who are poor because of social and personal problems which have caused them to drop out of the labor force. This group has been referred to as the hidden unemployed. These persons have become so discouraged that they have just stopped looking for work. These persons are not counted in the labor force because they are not actively seeking work. According to the definition of the labor force being currently used, they are not a part of the labor force because they are not actively seeking a job.

   There are large numbers of such persons who are not included in the data on unemployment. Efforts are being made through the poverty program and the manpower programs to identify these persons. The process of searching for such persons and improving their employability is called outreach, i.e. reaching out into the community. These persons require extensive manpower services if they are to be employed. Many do not know how to go about getting a job, they may need counseling or health services as well as basic and vocational education.

Turning next to the question "What should be the role of the university in the poverty programs?" In my view, there are several things which the university should be doing.

1. The appropriate members of the staff from several disciplines must be aware of the realities of poverty. They must know that there are indeed people who are on poverty. This is not the place for abstractions. They must shed their academic gowns and assume the role of a social mechanic--one who is interested in improving the social machinery which has or needs to be established in bringing about the series of solutions needed if all the citizens are to be included in the mainstream of American life.
2. Faculty members can serve as technical consultants to the state and community agencies involved in carrying out various parts of the poverty program. There are many agencies involved in the conduct of bits and pieces of the overall poverty program. These faculty members, if they are in tune with what's going on, can bring an important perspective to the programs. They can feed new ideas and new concepts into the agency. In so doing, they can help the agency to renew itself.
3. Faculty members can engage in research. This is extremely important. For example, one of the criteria for establishing programs in the community is to have adequate information to support the need. The 1960 census data are out of date. Furthermore, the current unemployment data do not show unemployment rates in sub-labor markets. There are many other aspects of social and economic life which are fruitful subjects for research.

4. The university can serve as a training center for personnel who are engaged in the administration and conduct of the poverty programs. For example, at Michigan State University, we work very closely with the Michigan Economic Opportunity Office in conducting training programs for directors of Community Action Agencies. These are the agencies which coordinate the poverty programs in the local community. The subject matter of these staff development programs include management, economics, budget, community organization, to mention a few.
5. The university can also conduct experimental projects in order to test hypotheses and to add to the techniques which are needed to implement more fully the objectives of the poverty program. For example, we need to know more about the learning process and how to best teach and train adults from among the poor for jobs in the world of work.
6. The university has a responsibility to make its students aware of poverty as an important social and economic problem confronting American society. As citizens, they will be involved in bringing about the series of solutions which are required if all Americans are to be included in the mainstream of American life.

These then are some observations on the poverty program and the university's involvement. I did not adhere rigidly to the topic assigned because the problems of poverty, like life itself, do not lend themselves to neat subject matter jurisdictions. The problems of poverty cut across all disciplines. This suggests that all segments of the university should be involved.

Dr. Donald Blome
Assistant Professor
Department of Geography, and
Institute for Community Development

GEOGRAPHY AND POVERTY AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

Perhaps I should address my initial remarks toward a rather apparent and obvious question: What is a geographer doing on this panel? I must admit that this question pòses a bit of a challenge to me since poverty per se is not my area of specialty within geography. I hope, however, to give you an indication of how geographers might research the problem of poverty within the community.

To begin with, the major problem faced here is one of definition. Poverty, as Dr. Kruger just pointed out, is presently defined only operationally. With regard to this notion, I recall a comment made by Van Sauter, a staff member of the Detroit Free Press, a little over a year ago when he stated that the poverty stricken are not the rich who are temporarily out of money. Certainly, the problem of poverty is much more broad than just a persons financial well being. Since we are unable to comprehensively define our area of concern, it becomes exceedingly difficult to determine just how to approach the problem.

A second definitional problem is that of the community. To be sure, when we hear this term we reflect a mental image of an aggregation of people living in a relatively small area and engaged in non-farm occupations. But to say that an arbitrary line, such as a city limit or county boundary distinguishes two or more separate communities is not realistic. Every individual is a member of some community in one way or another and there is simply no hard and fast law by which this assignment can be made.

Now that I have given you two concepts for which definitions have not yet been firmly established, let me attempt to relate these concepts to the academic discipline of geography. To continue in the negative vein, modern geography is not the traditional recapping of the names of the mountains, rivers, and cities of the world. Rather it is the study of the spatial distribution of different phenomena on the surface of the earth. It is also concerned with the underlying factors or processes which bring about a particular spatial distribution. Since both poverty and communities are distributed over the face of the earth, the patterns which they produce, either individually or together constitute a viable area for geographic research.

Modern geography, like most other social sciences, attempts to approach problems from a theoretical standpoint. The advantage of using this approach is that it provides a measure against which we may assess what is found in the real world. For example, a major theory used in geography, central place theory, indicates the number, size, and spacing of urban places in the world, subject to the underlying assumptions of the theory. Any particular part of the world then, can be studied to see if the arrangement of urban areas conforms to the theory, and if not, which processes have brought about this irregularity. Unfortunately, a theory of this type does not exist for the spatial distribution of poverty.

Although a rigorous theory is lacking, certain "empirical regularities" relating to the spatial distribution of poverty are manifest in geographic research. In economic geography, for example, the manufacture of low value goods seeks locations where wage rates are low. Certain segments of the textile industry literally live in poverty pockets where non-union labor, especially women, can be employed.

A primary question raised at this point is how can one identify an "empirical regularity" concerning the spatial distribution of poverty? One of the most effective methods is by use of analytical maps. First, let me distinguish between two major categories of maps, analytical maps and identity maps. The identity map is concerned primarily with location. A road map that you pick up in any gasoline station is an example of an identity map. Also, political maps of the world fall into this category. Analytical maps, on the other hand, emphasize magnitudes of occurrence, as well as location. Certainly, everyone is familiar with a dot map of the population of the United States. This map provides visual evidence of the more densely populated northeastern part of the country as opposed to the Great Plains. Maps showing elevational differences across the country by means of color shading are a similar type of analytic map.

Analytic maps can be used to great advantage in identifying poverty areas, especially when they are used in a sequential set of overlay maps. The reason for using overlays is that it permits the portrayal of the impact of several distributions simultaneously.

The following example provides an excellent use of analytical map overlays in identifying a potential crime area in the State of California. This particular study was performed by the Aero Jet General Corporation under contract with the State of California in 1963-1964.

As a part of the study, a set of maps showing the boundaries of each of the communities in the Los Angeles metropolitan area was drawn on sheets of clear plastic. The median income for each community was then determined and assigned to one of approximately ten categories. Each category in turn was assigned a color which ranged from very light for the high income communities to very dark for the low income communities. These colors were then applied to the appropriate communities on the clear plastic map.

Next, the median school years completed for each community was determined and categorized similar to the income information. These data were then placed on a separate plastic map. Additional information which the researchers felt was related to the incidence of crime, such as the unemployment rate in each community, the racial structure, the recreational facilities available, the school drop-out rate, etc. was gathered, categorized, and mapped.

All of the maps were then superimposed, one on another and the patterns examined. Those communities which appeared intensely dark were then hypothesized to be high potential crime areas and the light colored areas, low potential crime areas. The hypothesis was verified in a few weeks when the Watts riot broke out. A re-examination of the maps showed Watts to have the highest crime potential of any metropolitan area in suburban Los Angeles.

The fact that a strong relationship exists between high crime potential areas and poverty areas is well known. Such a mapping technique might be useful in predicting and preventing future occurrences of this type.

But the implications for identifying poverty areas using this mapping method go even farther.. To remove poverty from our society will probably require vast expenditures of funds, both public and private. But where, when, and how shall these funds be efficiently infused into the poverty program? I submit that before society can efficiently input the resources necessary to combat poverty, some notion of the spatial distribution of the problem must be determined. Perhaps by identifying "empirical regularities" in the spatial distribution of poverty, a meaningful theory may develop which will enable community development specialists in performing their task.

Dr. Iwao Ishino, Professor
Department of Anthropology, and
Institute for Community Development

ANTHROPOLOGY AND POVERTY AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

Don Blome has told us that geography has virtually no literature on the question or problem of poverty. I would say, at least from one standpoint, that Anthropology suffers from an over abundance of literature on poverty. As a matter of fact, if any social science discipline is concerned with the question of poverty, it is Anthropology, particularly those who are concerned with primitive societies. For how else could one characterize the primitive other than as underprivileged? They are people who have been left behind as the mainstream of human civilization passed them by. Well, the history of the study of poverty stricken people is quite old in American society. The American Bureau of Ethnology, one of the early anthropological scientific institutions, was established in part to see what makes one group of underprivileged people, the American Indians, tick and what the federal government might do to help them. In fact this was responsible for the beginning of a certain trend in American Anthropology known as Applied Anthropology. The tradition continues today in the fact that contemporary anthropologists work in developing countries. But instead of looking at the problem of poverty from the standpoint of economics, or manpower or geography, the anthropologist examines the relevant cultural patterns. They ask such questions as: what kinds of family organization? What kinds of kinship system? What kind of belief and religious system? These are some of the primary questions that anthropologists have been asking. And if one looks at them in the light of the problem of poverty, it seems to me that we have a conceptual framework to interpret the findings, namely how subgroups in a nation adjust to the dominant group's cultural patterns, including family, religion, childrearing, etc.

Well, that is point one. More pertinent to the problem of poverty is Oscar Lewis' work in Mexico City where he dealt with the classical type of poverty. His study has resulted in coining the term "culture of poverty." I think all of us are acquainted with this term. Margaret Mead has recently begun some research--or at least is directing some people to do the research--on the culture poverty in New York City.

When we use the term "culture of poverty," we are stressing the fact that the concept of culture is significant in understanding the dynamics of poverty. That is to say, this concept suggests that not only is the present generation "blighted" with poverty, but unless something is done, the next generation will result in "blighted" people because they too will have been socialized as poverty people.

It seems to me that Moynihan's study of the American Negro family makes good anthropological sense, although many others have criticized his analysis. His study focused on the Negro family and rightly so. The family as an institution is one place where the basic attitudes of the next generation are formed and where the next generation acquires the kinds of attitudes and beliefs systems that it carries through life. Moynihan's examination of the particular type family system that obtains in the Negro community suggests that such a family system hinders or handicaps young Negro members from acquiring the proper cultural attributes expected by the dominant white society.

The concept of "the culture of poverty" suggests another dimension worth mentioning here. That is, it suggests that people carrying the culture of poverty are somewhat different from the rest of the society. They have different aspirations, different speech patterns, different styles of interpersonal relations, and other sub-cultural differences. How do these differences come about? How did they originate?

The answer to such questions is simple, if we remain on a very abstract level of analysis. The answer is that somehow the people with the culture of poverty have been separated or have been kept separate from the people with the dominant type of culture. A fundamental generalization in anthropology states that if a population is kept out of communication and out of interaction with its original group, the segmented population will sooner or later develop a deviant type of culture.

Thus, American English has deviated from its mother tongue because of this comparative isolation factor. The present difficulties with respect to the French and English sectors of Canadian culture can be seen as resulting in part from the communication barriers presented by the presence of two different languages, French and English.

The American Negro has developed some of his own identity, speech pattern, humor, family structure and religious orientations partly in response to the barriers to communication and interaction with the rest of American society. These cultural patterns will tend to be perpetuated unless the flow of information and "messages" between the relevant cultural segments are not improved. The general strategy of the civil rights group is essentially correct, if we think of their attempts as one of increasing communication between this minority group and the remainder of the society. The strategy of greater participation in the larger society through education, use of public facilities, etc. is essentially one which would tend to reduce the cultural "uniqueness" of the Negro. Negroes who presently "carry" the culture of poverty represent the population which needs most of this interaction with and participation in the larger society. More welfare funds, more health facilities, more recreational centers, and more job opportunities are not ends, but are means to improve the flow of interactions between the dominant culture and the culture of poverty.

Robert B. Hotaling
Associate Professor of
Urban Planning and
Continuing Education

URBAN PLANNING AND POVERTY

Basically urban planning is concerned with "territory." A territory may be a city, a village, a township, a county, a combination of these, a region, a metropolitan area, a state, a combination of states, a national region, the United States, a combination of the United States and adjacent foreign countries or any other combination that is conceivable. The concerns of the urban planner within a defined territory are those that generally deal with an evaluation of natural resources and conditions, population composition, trends and projections, economic base and other economic considerations, organizational arrangements and decision-making processes, the existing man-made developments in terms of land uses and structural uses, the preparation of master or guide plans for land and structural uses for the immediate and long-range future of a territory, and the means for implementing such prepared plans by legal, financial, organizational or education means.

The preparation of master or guide plans for a "territory" is one of the ultimate professional responsibilities of the urban planner. Elements included in these plans are those dealing with man's use of land and structures, the provision of a transportation system to move between and among these land uses and structures, the provision of utilities, such as water supply, waste disposal, electric power, telephone communication, and so forth among these land uses and structures, the provision of important public facilities such as those for education, recreation, health and safety, and the many other aspects of the physical development of the environment into a functional arrangement to satisfy the needs of people and their multitude of activities within a territory.

The above means that urban planners have the total environment with which to play. Planners, however, are of many types. They may be called regional planners, metropolitan planners, urban planners, city planners, county planners, urban renewal planners, state planners, national planners, housing planners, transportation planners, and so forth. However, one thing that is common to all of these planners is that they are finally concerned with some aspect of the physical environment within which man lives and works.

Planners that deal with territories and prepare plans for their immediate and long-range future development are at best middle management professional people. Most of them are found in national, state, and local governments with a few, but an increasing number working for private industry and commerce. Most of them are concerned about constantly upgrading or improving the present man-made living and working environments without deteriorating the natural setting in which they are located any more than is necessary. They are quite concerned with initial urban developments, the subsequent expansion out from these, the renewal of old and obsolete urban areas later on and the designing of effective programs to change these concerns which become ends or goals for environmental improvements of the total urban complex for people and their economy. One cannot overlook the fact that these planners while seemingly concerned about man-made developments upon a landscape are also concerned about making wise use of the natural human, economic and decision-making resources available in and to the territory in which the man-made urban development is located.

Planning is basically preparing plans for orderly growth or change through a seemingly complex planning process to accomodate the social, economic, political and physical environmental variables of human activity. Orderliness, however, is not only peculiar to physical environment planning, but it is also common to all types of planning. Planning in the final analysis more often than not means the realization that in order to carry out plans there must be some conformism to the plans by people and the resources that they have at hand with which to make political and economic decisions that effectuate change in man's environment. Within this framework of reference--plans and conformism--one becomes very much aware of the fact that this is the antithesis of the traditional American concept of the freedom of the individual to self express himself in the things that he wants to do to satisfy his goals and aspirations within the available resources to him. More "planning" takes on the connotation of being socialistic in nature because it does require conformism to a plan or at least a planning process. Urbanization due to industrialization and commercialization concentration precipitates and thus requires an increasing amount of interdependency of groups and individuals and thus massism and conformism--both promoters of socialistic tendencies. Within this framework urbanization requires urban planning and urban planning involves itself directly into the interdependent highly complex urban society, including its economy and decision-making processes. Because of this involvement urban planning becomes involved with the environment of the poor, as well as all other groups, and attempts to do something about improving the environment through the urban planning process. As a result, the compromise is between individual good or goals and the common or societal goals of a territory.

It would be unrealistic not to face up to this fact and realize that any planning process requires involvement of individuals and groups in the preparation of plans under professional and technical guidance which the planners provide and consequently plans or alternate plans can be prepared to helpfully meet both individual and common good or goals as a territory develops. As far as planning is concerned the important and fundamental organizational arrangement within a territory is to develop a planning process which involves the full range of the variable human aspects of the social, economic, political and geographical components that will be contributing to the ultimate planning, development and use of a territory.

The role of the planner in the planning process is to at first give direction to the establishment of such a planning process and then proceed to involve the territorial development interests in the process. As a part of the plan preparation part of the process, the planner is directed to the collection of data and the evaluation of data relative to the social, economic, political and environmental factors that affect territorial development. Based upon an evaluation of this data and the constant up-dating and re-evaluation of any new data the planner keeps the people involved in the planning process currently informed and thus more aware of what is happening to change a territorial development pattern. From the involvement of people and the informing of people involved, physical development plans--possibly alternate plans--are prepared and subsequently continually up-dated based on changing involvement and data considerations. The next step in the planning process is for the planner to give directions to the preparation of implementors of the current plans as they are prepared and various elements contained within the plan are developed by individuals or organizations (privately or by public agencies) so that they conform with the plans of the moment. Plans do change. This is accomplished as previously indicated by the continued involvement and up-dating of information and persons involved for the purpose of being more currently informed and subsequently able to make more current decisions relative to planning, plans and developmental needs.

The previous is a somewhat involved approach to a community's development as it can and will ultimately serve the environmental needs of people in a community. It would seem that to relate this to a particular part of a population would be very easily accomplished if a planning process is truly an operation and community problems dealing with human, economic, governmental or environmental improvements could be fed into the process and problems resolved as a result of the proper functioning of the process. In the case of poverty, which involves depressed peoples socially, economically, governmentally and environmentally, this planning process could be put to work in their behalf just as much as any other segment of a community's population.

For example, often questions of housing, recreation, education, etc. can be accomplished through this planning process by causing developmental programs to be initiated or established areas to be renewed, conserved or rehabilitated. Programs through this planning process can be instituted and carried out so as to improve the housing, the neighborhood and other environmental aspects within which a depressed peoples work, live and try to enjoy themselves. A great deal could be accomplished for the poor through such an environmentally upgrading program that is normally a part of the urban planning process anyway. Much accomplishment is already being made through this process with the help of federal, state and local money and effort which is being used to subsidize the depressed environments of the poor in order to cause their living areas to be upgraded. It is axiomatic, however, that such a program presumes that any upgraded residential area would reoccupy by those people who had been displaced from it in the first place. This often does not happen, but there is every reason to believe but that it can and should happen.

Another "for example" is by using the planning process, the general tax base, federal and state financing and perhaps private financing, and putting an expanded planning process to work for the purpose of more broadly upgrading the many other aspects of an otherwise depressed urban people. Certainly social services and programmed economic opportunity expansion could be involved in such a process through an industrial development program which could cause a people in a community to be upgraded financially and consequently helped from a poverty situation.

One final thought--and a real criticism that I will make of the usual poverty or human social and economic upgrading programs--is very simply that they are very often fragmented, brought in out of context and so highly specialized that it does not relate properly to the total community effort. If these programs were coordinated through an overall long-range as well as short-range planning process that could take a look at the total community and the total upgrading of the human element, the economic opportunities, the governmental political decision-making and involvement and the physical environment of the community, a great deal more could be accomplished by having these fragmented programs brought into the broader framework of the planning process. Consequently, they would have their desires and goals dispersed broadly through the process and more than likely will be able to accomplish a great deal more in the long run, for the impoverished as well as the rest of society. The poor are a part of a larger interdependent complex in urban situations. Urban planning and the urban planning process does offer some real possibilities to do something for the poor on a continuous long-range basis with the strong possibility of immediate and progressive improvement of their environment as well as other related aspects of living.

Bruce T. Olson
Police Administration Specialist
Institute for Community Development

POLICE ADMINISTRATION AND THE POVERTY ISSUE

My assignment today is to relate my Institute responsibilities in analyzing Michigan law enforcement agencies to the question of poverty in the American community. I'll have to confess to you that, at least in the literature of professional police administration, there is little reported on this relationship. This may sound strange because of the great abundance of theories about the relationship between the incidence of crime and the incidence of poverty.

The fundamental theory, of course, is that there is a causal relationship between poverty and crime. Some people assume that, therefore, the way to eliminate crime is to eliminate poverty; the elimination of both is, of course, a laudable objective. However, as of yet, to my knowledge, there is no solid evidence that the elimination of one would necessarily be followed by the elimination of the other.

It is not my purpose today, however, to speculate further on the sociological implications of crime and poverty. We are all too aware that both exist. When we, in the Institute for Community Development, accept an invitation to visit a community to talk with some of its leaders about crime we are always aware that the twin evils of crime and poverty are present.

We are also aware that both the rich and poor pay for crime. Although the average per cent of the American municipal budget that goes for law enforcement is about 15%, nearly all of the dollars that buy police services are paid for out of the property tax.

This is a tax that both the rich and poor pay, either in direct cash payments to the county treasurer or indirectly, through rents paid to the landlord.

Even more importantly, everyone pays, indirectly and directly, for the amount of political heat that often is generated around a police department that's in trouble. It seems to me that both the rich and poor have an obligation, if they want to preserve their considerable investment in police services, to see that their department functions effectively, that it receives solid public support when it deserves it and that it receives searching scrutiny from the citizens when this is in order.

And yet, time and again, we find that the poor are rarely present at the local government budgetary and policy meetings when the big questions are being asked: do we cut the police budget this year or increase it or leave it about the same? Is crime really on the rampage? Are all the city's services being mobilized to prevent crime? Is effectiveness in police operations stressed equally with economy and efficiency? Is the police department serving all the community?

Recently, for example, we conducted a study of a police department in one of our well industrialized Michigan communities. This is a good sized town with a population mix that is fairly typical of our small urban industrial centers.

One of the things we first noticed--and we do not necessarily say this is exclusively a characteristic of this particular community--was that there was very little real conversation going on between the police department and the community.

For example, while we were present in the city there was a tremendous rash of school vandalism; yet, the churches, the schools, and the police department were not getting together to try to determine what it meant, what could be done about it, who was doing it and why. In two weeks the city was practically immobilized by a full scale riot, not without death and injury.

The entire community had a first-class social barometer right at hand and missed their chance to make an accurate reading.

Meanwhile, we were visiting members of the community, other than the police, including some of the people usually identified as being in the poverty class. None of them knew the chief's name, had any working knowledge of what the police department was doing to earn its more than $100,000 a year budget, whether its equipment, recruitment policies, organization was as good as it could be under the circumstances. We even talked to a minister and asked him if he had ever had members from the police department in to his lay people's group to talk to them about what services the police could and could not provide. The minister's answer: "No, my people have no need for police services and it never occurred to me that the department might furnish a speaker."

On the other hand, when we went back to the chief and asked him to list the number of public appearances of any kind that his department's representatives had given anywhere in the city during the past year, he could not furnish a list but did recall, he thought, about 10, which would be less than one a month.

We talked to other groups in the city and other persons; it became evident that the dominant image of the police department had been formed by unfavorable newspaper publicity and T.V. The police, on the other hand, had not taken the initiative to know the community for which they work under more favorable circumstances than those they obtain when an arrest is made. Consequently, when the riots came there were no pre-existing lines of communication into key community centers which could help the police cope with the problem. Such lines of communication as were developed were put together at precisely the time when the riots were going on.

It is almost trite now to hear that good government is everybody's business and yet the essential truth of this statement never diminishes. It is quite evident to me, at least, that the stake of the poor in good law enforcement, like good government, is very great since these people are usually the least able to defend themselves from the ravages of social pathology, they are least able to afford the costs of police protection (and should be, therefore, most interested in getting the best return--again, not necessarily the most efficient return--on their tax dollar) and yet the impact of the poverty classes on the determination of law enforcement policies seems very minimal. It seems to me that somewhere along the line the police and the poor have to get together; both have a lot to say and both could profit by listening hard to the other.

The function of law enforcement in community development is important. Without adequate law enforcement the community development process is severely impeded; if, for example, the incidence of burglary and vandalism is high homeowners and business people are reluctant to improve or develop property; if it is so dangerous to be out on the street at night that no one wants to live in a community, industry is reluctant to move into a community. This is why, in a lot of industrial development literature and brochures, you will find that business closely investigates the caliber of police as well as fire services before it considers a community for the location of a new site. If we had no police services and if each of us had to rely on himself and his family for protection it is easy to see that it would be virtually impossible to have anything like a reasonably orderly community.

To the extent, therefore, that the police function is operating effectively in a community the community development process is assured, assuming the other public functions are operating equally well. The police function does not operate effectively without a lot of constructive interest and support, and criticism where and when necessary, from all the public, however.

I might add that poverty is really an old story to the police from another point of view. If you check back to the 1900's, using U. S. Census and Bureau of Commerce figures, you will find the police themselves have been a somewhat impoverished group. In fact, of the 25 basic local government functions, the police service is one of the few which has not really increased much in terms of budgetary resources.

While it is admirable that we should have underwritten many of these other public services as much as we have, I think we should also look closely at our scale of values to see if we really want to de-emphasize law enforcement services in view of the fact that, as many think, we are having a tough crime problem in this half of the twentieth century; at least crime is significant enought that it was the one thing both presidential candidates agreed on in many points in the record of the oratory of the 1964 election campaigns.

One final point about the police, the poor, and community development. There is, in most police departments, a wealth of data which community developers can use as they study communities. Where else can you find such a complete record of social disorganization? I think that really effective programs for social improvement would take into account the relationship these programs have on crime. For example, do our zoning laws build crime prone conditions into our buildings or do they weed them out? Have our various social programs that were intended to reduce crime accomplished their jobs? To what extent has the incidence of intoxication arrests, family complaints, insanity commitments changed in a community, as reflected in police records, and what do these trends tell us?

To the extent that we, in our communities, can understand our police departments we can understand our communities. If we turn our backs on our police departments and their potential in community development we are virtually turning our backs on what could be a powerful, positive force for the betterment of all, rich and poor. Our aim should really be to make crime everybody's business but not in the negative sense of the phrase. If you can get people asking questions about their police department you have really ensured that they will be interested in the community. One of the real problems, we know, is that lay people often do not know what questions to ask. We at the Institute are developing a series of questionnaires that will enable citizens to look at their departments in an objective way. These are intended to be nearly self-completing. For example we have one on training we are experimenting with. By filling in the boxes on this questionnaire you can get a complete picture of the degree to which the department has received training. One of law enforcement's biggest problems is that while practically all the members of any law enforcement agency want, and admit they need, more training, it has often been impossible to get a budget appropriation for this purpose. It is not unusual, therefore, to find that while a department has been budgeted 2 or 3 hundred thousand dollars, there is less than $500 in the budget for training. Do the people in your community know whether your department is well trained or not? This is an area where they can be of great help in convincing the city fathers that, if the need exists, the department should be budgeted more money for training. After all, training is the way in which the young officer is introduced to police work, inducted into the vocational fraternity so to speak. The way in which he is trained today will determine the way in which he will deal with the poor--and the well off--both deserve the best treatment they can get from the police and most of the police in the country are willing to give it.

The stake the poor have in law enforcement is a real one and a big one. If we can really speak of them as a class, they should be most interested in adequate law enforcement services. It is quite evident that they have not made their voice heard and that, once they do, law enforcement and the entire community will be better off for it since good law enforcement requires the support of as many citizens as possible. Perhaps later in the day some of you have some questions about law enforcement and, if so, we will be happy to try to answer them for you.

Neil F. Bracht, Assistant Dean
Extramural & Community Affairs
College of Human Medicine

SOCIAL WORK AND POVERTY:
SOME CURRENT ISSUES

In thinking about this meeting it seemed to me that the most meaningful and interesting material to present would be to share with you some of the real concerns and problems that the "war on poverty" has created for the social work profession. As I travel in social work circles, I sometimes wonder if we social workers are not "suffering" just about as much as the poor. This has been a period of stressful re-examination as to the role of social work vis-a-vis poverty and other large-scale social problems.

Many of you, I am sure, have contact with social workers in community organization type programs or in connection with health and welfare councils. Many social workers have moved into the "war on poverty," and I think you know what the various O.E.O. programs are and what social workers are trying to accomplish in them, and, therefore, I will not go into detail here. I would, however, like to discuss current issues in both the practice and training of social workers as they relate to the "war on poverty" and present what I feel are the long-range implications for the social work profession.

I do not believe it is necessary to list the contributions of social work to the American social welfare setting. Social work practitioners and leaders have made their series of significant contributions and will continue to do so. What I want to focus on today are some of the problems in the profession. As you know, the social work profession has had a long history of involvement with poverty. I doubt that there has been any institution other than the church, perhaps, that has so continuously concerned itself with the problems of the poor than social work. It should be noted, however, that neither group, the church or the profession of social work, has met with a great deal of success in eradicating or alleviating the problems of poverty. Presently, there is even a growing conflict between representatives of low income groups and social work professionals in which the profession is conveniently used as the "scape goat" for the deficiencies of the welfare institution.

The social work profession in America had its origins in the early 19th century with the development of the Charity Organization Societies. Soon thereafter, the first schools of social work were established. Social workers became very involved during the Depression with relief programs. Considerable expansion of social work personnel occurred in the 1930's with the passage of the Social Security Amendment and particularly the Public Assistance programs which set up, what many feel, are the very problematic categorical relief programs such as: Aid to Dependent Children, etc. During the late 1930's and early 1940's, trained social workers increasingly relied on Sigmund Freud to provide major answers to the problems of social dysfunction. The clinical model became entrenched in Social Work education. This model has not proved too successful in coping with major social problems. There was some move away from the strictly psychiatric or clinical model as we focused our attentions on rehabilitation and community mental health as the result of the Social Security amendments and mental health legislation of 1963. These measures were needed but, again, in really alleviating the problems of the poor none of these programs and none of the institutional arrangements established have really done the job.

It is quite clear that while society gave sanction to the profession of social work to work on behalf of the poor, it (society) did not realize at the time the scope and breadth of the problems of poverty. The present war on poverty is making us think and search more deeply into the issues of poverty: 'what it is,' 'how you define it,' and are we really going to change poverty conditions through our present war strategy? In other words, there was little consensus in society as to what should be alleviated because society wasn't too sophisticated in understanding the problems of the chronically poor. For instance, the problem of being poor is not just a matter of a social worker helping a person get a job. The problem today, is really one of inadequacy of incomes for 50% of the poor are already employed. We didn't know a great deal about the effects of tax cuts, poor education, automation and illness, etc., and how they affect the lives of low-income families. What I am saying, is that the job of alleviating the problems of poverty could not and will never be done by social work alone. That is why we have the wide range of specialists represented here today. It is no simple problem, and we have to look at facts from a wide range of disciplines so that we tend to be somewhat better prepared to tackle the broad problems of poverty.

Some social workers have, of course, joined the war on poverty particularly in the community action programs. They are racing ahead without really some of the modern weapons of a current war on poverty. A few are skilled in the real tools of community development and organization. Few are well versed in economics or institutional reform measures needed to attack or alleviate poverty. What we have to do is to take a hard look at some of the conditions which are causative in the problem of poverty before initiating warmed over New Deal programs.

An indication that social work is looking at some of the broader issues in community development and the elimination of poverty is reflected in the current program announcement of the National Social Welfare Conference which was held in Chicago a few months ago. The theme of this year's conference was "social welfare's role in economic growth." Here are a few of the topics delivered at the convocation:

1. Social Policy and Economic Progress
2. The American System of Transfers, How It Benefits the Poor
3. Models of Social Change
4. The Responsibility and Involvement of Social Welfare in Shaping Broader Policies on the War on Poverty.

Changes are taking place in the concerns of social workers regarding broader social policy questions.

While some of the programs in the War on Poverty are certainly innovative, I have some question about their preventive potential for eradication. For example, the Job Training Corps has never really asked the question of what we are training these young men for. The current technological revolution has changed our ideas of the skills that people will need in the future. Of all the programs in the War on Poverty one of the highlights and one of the most imaginative and creative approaches is probably the Head Start program. I think it has been carried out rather successfully. Programs such as this begin to touch base with certain of the basic causes of poverty. I would like to suggest that as you return to some of your communities you also look at these programs in terms of whether they are simply adding on a little cream or whether they are really getting at the sources of poverty.

Now returning to the problems that confront the social work profession I'd like to emphasize four points: (1) As a result of the War on Poverty and the national concern for civil rights etc., we have many students coming into the School of Social Work who are very committed in terms of social change. There are approximately three applicants for every position that is available in schools of social work. Our concern in social work is how do we prepare these young people to take on some of the bigger tasks that await them as they begin to practice. As you may or may not know about 95% of the graduate students in social work specialize in casework. In other words, they feel that the approach that is going to solve some of the problems of the poor, some of our major problems in urban renewal and planning is the one-to-one approach on an individual counselling basis. What we are questioning in the profession today is the need for an approach that is broader than the one-to-one model. Increasingly, schools of social work are introducing epidemiological concepts and general public health approaches which deal with larger groups of people. There is increased emphasis on community development techniques and understanding community and social change processes. There is, then, a significant change taking place in the type of student that is coming into schools of social work, however, his initial selection of a field of specialization, namely casework, still makes us concerned. (2) There is growing concern about the way social welfare services are organized and administered and the schools of social work are turning their research interests in this direction. (3) The War on Poverty has told us something about the use of untrained or indigenous workers. There was a time when professional social workers thought that the utopian ideal of achieving professionally trained social workers to staff all the welfare programs was possible. This simply is not possible, and I think we are taking a new look at the use of people trained at the bachelor's level or below who can work in a wide variety of health and welfare agencies. This change in emphasis on manpower utilization and qualifications is most significant. Recently the Council on Social Work Education made a special report on undergraduate training in social work and is seeking new ways to improve these programs. In the future then I think we can anticipate a larger pool of social work manpower and more integrated with the graduate training programs. (4) Finally, schools of social work are recognizing the need to train individuals for social policy formation and planning. We hope to produce students who can influence the course which social policy will take. But here again we need the entire range of disciplines represented in the university setting.

I have attempted to be rather frank today in bringing together what I think are some of the serious problems that social work practice and training faces, and to give some insight as to the direction which the profession is already going. I think as this seminar has indicated it is not sufficient for any one profession or organization to think that it can deal effectively with the problems of poverty, and I hope that we might have some discussion concerning multi-disciplinary approaches in our discussion sessions which follow.

Mr. Edmund Alchin
Community Development Specialist
Institute for Community Development

THE HOLISTIC APPROACH TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Political leaders in nearly every country of the world support the concept of development. Both the so-called emerging nations and the developed countries have a variety of economic, social, political, and physical development programs to which they are allocating extensive resources.

Full employment, capitalization of industry, agricultural improvement, conservation, exploitation of resources, improved education, improved transportation facilities, health and welfare, and problems of urbanization are the major focus of these programs.

Community development has become the universal concept applied to national programs for development. It is the title usually given to attempts to do something about the problems facing masses of people at the local community level. This movement has become a major part of over-all development programs, particularly in the developing countries.

The United States and other countries possessing more advanced technology have assumed a role of assisting the less-developed nations through a variety of programs. Universities are taking a close look at community development in terms of an educational responsibility. Many have planned and are carrying out training programs for community development workers. Some are attempting to provide field programs to assist local communities and regions with development problems through research and extension education. Many universities are sponsoring programs in international development and research.

The social and economic problems of community development focus primarily upon the individual and the community. The ultimate goals of community development programs in most countries are to improve the level of education, to establish political awareness and involvement, and to improve the level of living.

A variety of views of community development have been and will be presented by people of different interests and different approaches to development. One way of looking at them is in terms of the specialized areas of interest.

These views, taken separately, make important contributions to understanding development. Some people see community development as a process which includes the set of interrelated activities of organizations and information flows. Others see community development as a political and philosophic movement to improve living conditions at the so-called "grass roots" level. Others see community development as a democratic process which includes elements of involvement of people in a self-determined effort. Closely related to this is the almost universal idea that community development involves local initiative in the planning and local investment of time, energy and resources.

The various theories and approaches to development by institutionally-oriented professionals offer understanding and insight, and suggest ways and means for bringing about development. But, separately, they do not provide the needed framework within which to study development or to plan development. Development requires an approach incorporating theory and planning, supported by the many sources of knowledge that are available.

A major problem for the practitioner of community development is to find a way to relate information, organize programs and apply the skill represented in these many theories. The framework presented in the following is at least a beginning for a set of guidelines to accomplish this purpose. It is a systematic approach to community development arrived at by a number of staff members of the Institute here at Michigan State.

The philosophical objective of community development programs is to attain the universal goals of eliminating poverty, hunger, ignorance, sickness, and fear. Practically, this requires the procurement, preparation, and allocation of resources (materials, energy, people, and information). Community development begins by understanding the present availability of resources, the present method of allocation, and the present method of preparation and utilization. In effect, community development is an organized effort on the part of trained people to obtain information about resources and their allocation; the information must then be extended to the people to bring about changes that will improve the allocation of those resources.

The community development organization, whether an university program or a government program, must consist of trained people, a body of knowledge that has been acquired through research, and an educational program to provide the necessary information. The community development organization prepares and carries out plans to provide people outside the organization with information concerning the available resources and the alternative ways of obtaining, preparing, allocating, and utilizing those resources.

To accomplish its purpose, the community development organization relates itself to relevant groups who make and carry out plans for development. The place where groups make plans and act to achieve development objectives is the community. Depending upon the culture in which the development is being performed, this can range from the local village to the national government. Ultimately, development results in increased inputs, more effective preparation, and distribution of materials, energy, people, and information--increased outputs and utilization of goods and services.

Given the foregoing objectives and assumptions, the elements required to make up a model needed for planning community development programs can be defined. First, it must be holistic. That is, it must have a body of knowledge which leads to an understanding of the social, economic, political, and physical aspects of the community. Second, it must be operational. That is, community development is an applied program, and those who work in it must be oriented to applied research and educational effort. Third, it must be parsimonious. Community development deals with limited resources, both from the standpoint of personnel to do the work and the resources available in the community to bring about development. Fourth, it must be eclectic. The theoretical concepts which are required for community development come from many sources. Sociology, anthropology, urban planning, economics, political science, adult education, communication, agriculture, engineering and others are needed if development work is to be effective.

The effort to obtain the desired holistic approach to community development has brought about the adaptation of two theories into an integrated model. First, from the fields of systems engineering and ecology, systems theory provides a means for studying community. The community is viewed as a system made up of a set of interrelated components and functions which provide the means for procuring, preparing, allocating and utilizing resources. The components of community as a system are: (1) The human components, i.e., the population, their institutions and organizations; (2) The man-made components, i.e., the structures, facilities, and technology created by the human components; (3) The natural components, i.e., the land, climate, water, flora and fauna. The study of community as a system can be accomplished by utilizing existing and developing new models to examine the components, their interrelationships, linkages and the flows of materials, energy, people and information.

Second, an assumption that the basis for decision and action to achieve development goals lies with the human component, and that there always exists a plan to procure, prepare, allocate, and utilize resources, results in a model to determine the existing situation. The model which has been developed to study the human component and existing plans is termed the "image-plan-action-evaluation" model. Images can be defined as the understanding that the human component has of itself and the community as a system. Images can be viewed as composed of the values, beliefs, attitudes, and facts that people have that determine their knowledge of their situation. Images lead to plans, i.e., sets of instructions composed of objectives, and the means to procure, prepare, allocate and utilize resources. To implement plans requires action to create and manage the components of community as a system to allow the necessary flow of materials, energy, people and information. Evaluation is an on-going process resulting in decisions in each step of the process of developing images, creating plans and carrying out action. Evaluation also results in new images, plans and actions which form a continuous cycle over time.

The systems approach to community integrated with the image-plan-action-evaluation model forms the framework through which to examine the community. To make these models operational requires the adaptation of ideas from several fields of knowledge to obtain the needed information. This need determines the eclectic nature of the holistic model.

The conceptual ideas which are at present considered to be those most important to the experiment are as follows:

1. Institutionalization provides the means to study present organizations and their relationships. Also, as changes in individual and group images and plans occur, the human component, too, is altered due to development action. Institutionalization offers a means of documenting and ordering data concerning the changes in social structure, the changes in individual and group objectives, the changes in organizational relationships, and the changes in linkages between organizations, and the development of new organizations.
2. Planned Change offers a means to understand the present situation. Also, the internal activities of the development organization, the way it relates itself to the community, the way it develops plans and carries out action with the community leadership can be studied

by planned change.

3. Conflict Resolution suggests ways of studying major community development problems. Identifying conflicts and planning ways to resolve them by use of conflict resolution ideas can contribute essential information for development planning and action.
4. Network Planning, primarily out of construction and business administration, offers another conceptual idea of how the training, research, and extension education functions of community development can be interrelated and coordinated to the end that development occurs in an orderly process. Priorities for solving problems can be determined using this concept.
5. Time Allocation is another important conceptual model. It deals primarily with decision makers and the time required to obtain information, make decisions, and carry out plans. This offers an important insight into the difference between making decisions on the basis of facts and understanding and making decisions based upon intuition, emotional involvement, and instinct.
6. Communication Theory.
7. Adult Education.
8. Extension Education. These last three ideas offer several ways to study the educational function of community development. Experiments of methods and techniques can be based upon models from these fields.
9. Flow Analysis provides the means to study the flows of materials, energy and people, as well as information in the components of community as a system. Ideas as to the present flows and the ways that inputs and outputs of resources can be improved for development can be studied by use of flow analysis.

CONCLUSIONS

The holistic approach to community development is viewed as an important step to making the resources and body of knowledge in the University available and more effective in meeting the needs of society.

Experience in a training program involving professional development workers from some 20 countries indicates that the ideas can be universally meaningful.

Field experience to date shows the need for refinement of ideas and work on the problem of utilizing local professional and lay people in carrying out the necessary work. So far, the ideas are accepted and local help has been available to effectuate the program.

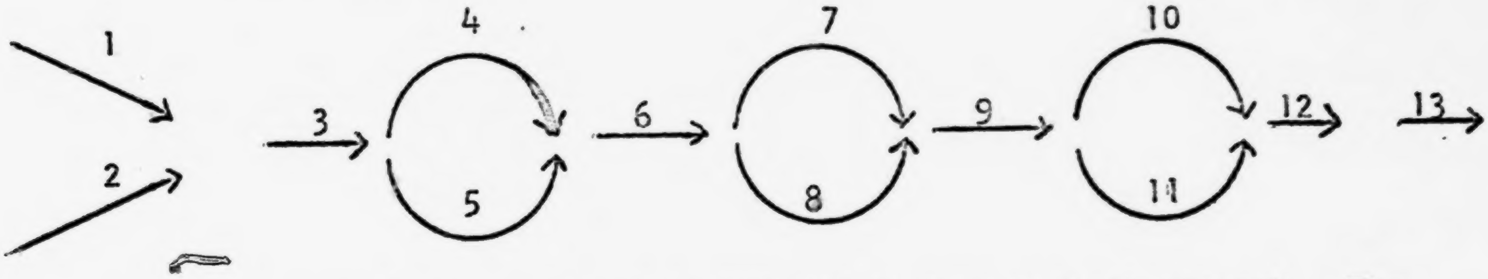
Dr. Iwao Ishino, Professor
Department of Anthropology, and
Institute for Community Development

NETWORK ANALYSIS

The process of encouraging community action is a very complex operation which involves many people with a wide variety of skills and talents. Here at Michigan State, for example, we have on our community development staff, urban planners, sociologists, political scientists, economists, geographers, and anthropologists. When such a team goes into a community on some development project it could entail the active participation of scores of other people including local government officials, business leaders, professional people and many other public-spirited individuals. To coordinate effectively the activities of such a wide range of workers, some kind of action plan is necessary. Network analysis is a technique for planning and executing a coordinated effort on some project of community action. The ideas for this network analysis have come out of management planning systems known as Program Evaluation and Review Techniques (acronym is PERT) and the Critical Path Method.

Statements which have attempted to organize the various phases of community action programs, of course, are not unique. A good example is one published in Adult Leadership, February 1953, entitled, "Initiating Social Action." (See attached sheet # 1A and B.) This Adult Leadership plan contains 13 phases, each with a number of subsidiary steps. These phases are: (1) Looking within the action group, (2) Looking at the community outside, (3) Identifying possible action targets, (4) Assessing the group, (5) Assessing readiness of the community, (6) Selecting one action target, (7) Translating ideas into action plan, (8) Assessing community forces relative to action target, (9) Planning the first action step, (10) Preparing the group for the first step, (11) Involving outsiders as partners, (12) Taking the first step, and (13) Redefining the action target.

Let us now take this example and see how it might be translated into a "network analysis" technique. The first problem is to diagram the logical sequence of the 13 phases. This is done by letting an arrow symbolize each of the 13 phases and "networking" the arrow into a logical scheme. Thus, the Adult Leadership phases will look like this:

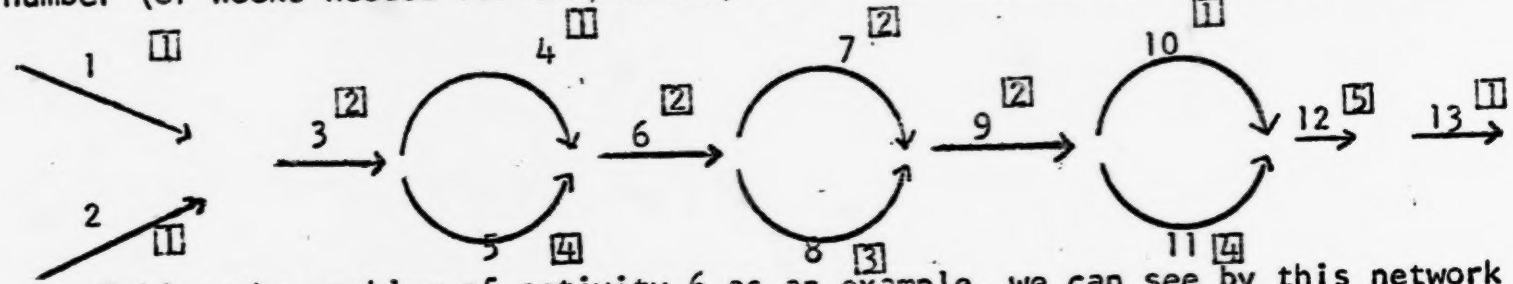


There are certain conventions in "reading" this logical network. The arrows designate the activity (or activities) that need to be accomplished. Each arrow now represents an activity (or a set of subactivities) and the total network of such arrows designates the logical order in which each activity fits into the total scheme. If individuals are assigned different activities because their time commitments and competencies differ, then each individual can see by this network diagram where his particular assigned work fits into the total community action program. Let us say that individual A is responsible for activity 6 (see arrow 6), this means that his particular responsibility does not begin until activities 4 and 5 have been completed. It also means that logically activities 7 and 8 should not begin until the completion of activity 6, for their action depends upon decisions and information gained from activity 6. The logical place of other activities is also succintly represented in this network.

Now, let us move to the second problem of network analysis. Suppose that the particular community action program is one which is fariiy routine for our community development team (say, a program to institute a zoning ordinance), and we have enough experience now to estimate the number of weeks it takes to complete each of the phases listed in the above logical network. If this is the case, we are ready then to move toward establishing (in addition to a logical network) a time allocation network. Let us assume that the following number of weeks are necessary to complete the respective activities:

Activity	Number of weeks to complete activity
1) looking within the action group	1
2) looking at the community outside	1
3) identifying possible action targets	2
4) assessing the group	1
5) assessing readiness of the community	4
6) selecting one action target	2
7) translating ideas into action plan	2
8) assessing community forces relative to action target	3
9) planning the first action step	2
10) preparing the group for the first step	1
11) involving outsiders as partners	4
12) taking the first step	5
13) redefining the action target	1

We can now add this information to the network diagram by indicating the number (of weeks needed for completion) in a "box" beside the activity number:



Taking the problem of activity 6 as an example, we can see by this network diagram that it should not get started until the beginning of the eighth week (cumulate the times of completion for the preceding activities). Similarly activities 7 and 8, which are dependent upon the completion of activity 6 should not start until the beginning of the tenth week.

By such analysis we can estimate the time of completion for the total program. Similarly, as the project proceeds, unexpected delays at any step in the process will have consequential delays on dependent or still uncompleted activities in the program. The consequences upon the completion date can be estimated if such delays in any intermediate phase occurs.

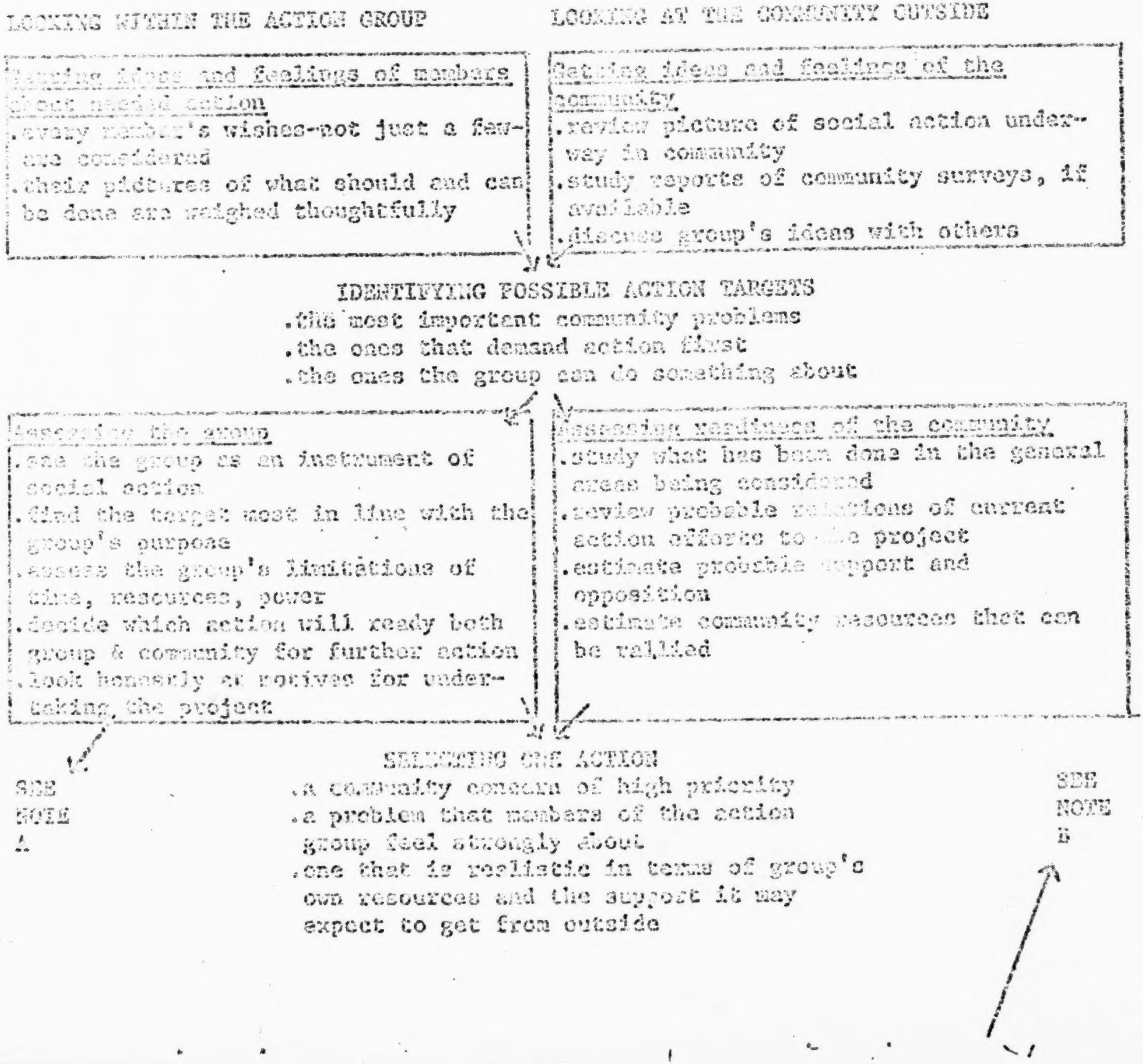
The foregoing discussion briefly alludes to the kind of analysis that is possible by means of network analysis. All of the refinements and implications of the method, of course, cannot be indicated in such a brief presentation but it is hoped that some idea of the general value of network analysis can be gleaned from the above.

I would like now to move to a slightly more complicated sequence of activities that a community action group might wish to take. For this example, I have assumed that a citizens' group (referred to here as a "Action Group") came to our Institute for Community Development for consultation purposes on some problem. As the attached diagram indicates (see sheet # 3A and B), I have listed 20 activities that could be considered in the goal or image setting, planning, action, and evaluation phases of the project. These activities are now networked into a logical diagram (see sheet #2A and B).

In our training program for community development workers, a network of this kind has been helpful as a pedagogical device as well as a planning device for them to carry out field research programs. As a pedagogical tool, these networks have facilitated communication among the members of the class because they tend to reveal hidden assumptions, muddy thinking, and false expectations each has held about change process in the community. On the planning level, the networks have provided us with the incentive and technique to sequence the multitude of specific activities that should be taken into account when a person plans to study a community action program.

PHASES OF COMMUNITY ACTION

Community action may be thought of as progressing through several phases. These phases do not necessarily fall in chronological order, but they occur, in one way or another, in every successful democratic action project as it is planned and carried through. Groups that want to improve their ways of working may find the following diagram useful in assessing and modifying their own methods of taking action.



LOOKING WITHIN THE ACTION GROUP

Sharing ideas and feelings of members about needed action
- .every member's wishes-not just a few-are considered
- .their pictures of what should and can be done are weighed thoughtfully

LOOKING AT THE COMMUNITY OUTSIDE

Getting ideas and feelings of the community
- .review picture of social action under-way in community
- .study reports of community surveys, if available
- .discuss group's ideas with others

IDENTIFYING POSSIBLE ACTION TARGETS
- .the most important community problems
- .the ones that demand action first
- .the ones the group can do something about

Assessing the group
- .see the group as an instrument of social action
- .find the target most in line with the group's purpose
- .assess the group's limitations of time, resources, power
- .decide which action will ready both group & community for further action
- .look honestly at motives for under-taking the project

Assessing readiness of the community
- .study what has been done in the general areas being considered
- .review probable relations of current action efforts to the project
- .estimate probable support and opposition
- .estimate community resources that can be rallied

SELECTING ONE ACTION
- .a community concern of high priority
- .a problem that members of the action group feel strongly about
- .one that is realistic in terms of group's own resources and the support it may expect to get from outside

SEE
NOTE
A

SEE
NOTE
B

NOTE A

Members may have many motives: getting the problem solved, venting righteous indignation, putting over a pet project, getting attention, getting revenge on some other group, blocking some other program, and others. None of these is necessarily "bad" or "good". But they are dangerous if they operate as hidden motives, interfering with rational planning and effective action.

NOTE B

The group must select a general field of action-housing rather than inter-national relations, or race relations rather than mental health. Then the group must define a specific project within the chosen field-for example, within race relations, working for fair employment practices in the town's industries, or working against race labeling by the town's newspapers. Often the impetus to action comes from a few interested persons, or arises from some dramatic incident.

~~NOTE~~

NOTE C

The action group will develop feelings of high morale and of increasing confidence in its own ideas as it works out its preliminary plans. It must guard against seeings its first step as missionary work among the heathen and ignorant outsiders. It must try to see its purpose as leadership in getting the problem understood and solved by the community, not as selling a "solution". The group should see its action steps as ways of learning better, along with other people, what the problem is and how it can best be solved.

Sheet # 1A

- .identify needs of group for information and consultation
- .collect and use relevant information
- .involve outside informants where group members cannot supply needed information
- .identify possible steps required to reach action targets
- .select first action step in relation to the group's and the community's readiness and resources

action target

- .analyze probable active and passive support and resistance by other organizations
- .analyze informal power and communication structure of community
- .chart organizational and informal communication channels for informing people about project
- .estimate availability of mass communication facilities-newspapers, radio, TV, etc.-for publicizing project

PLANNING THE FIRST ACTION STEP

- .which the group feels capable of carrying through
- .which brings in other persons and groups that need to be involved
- .which promises best visibility or publicity for project as it is reported & talked about
- .which makes responsible use of opposition

Preparing the group for the first step

- .clarify goals of the first step
- .map out division of responsibilities
- .assign special responsibilities to members who are interested in doing them
- .provide necessary training for assignments
- .rehearse first step (perhaps by role playing) & replan in light of tryout
- .build plans for evaluating first step into the action plan

Involving outsiders as partners

- .identify ways in which the project needs the help of other persons and groups
- .ask persons and organizations to help in ways they are likely to find congenial and possible
- .prepare announcements and publicity to reach different groups effectively
- .recruit outsiders as genuine partners, not as servants of the action group

SEE
NOTE
C

TAKING THE FIRST STEP

- .to involve other people in thinking seriously about the problem
- .to involve others as partners in the project
- .to focus community's resources on the problem
- .to test the group's thinking about the problem in relation to the community
- .to furnish data for replanning further action steps

REDEFINING THE ACTION TARGET

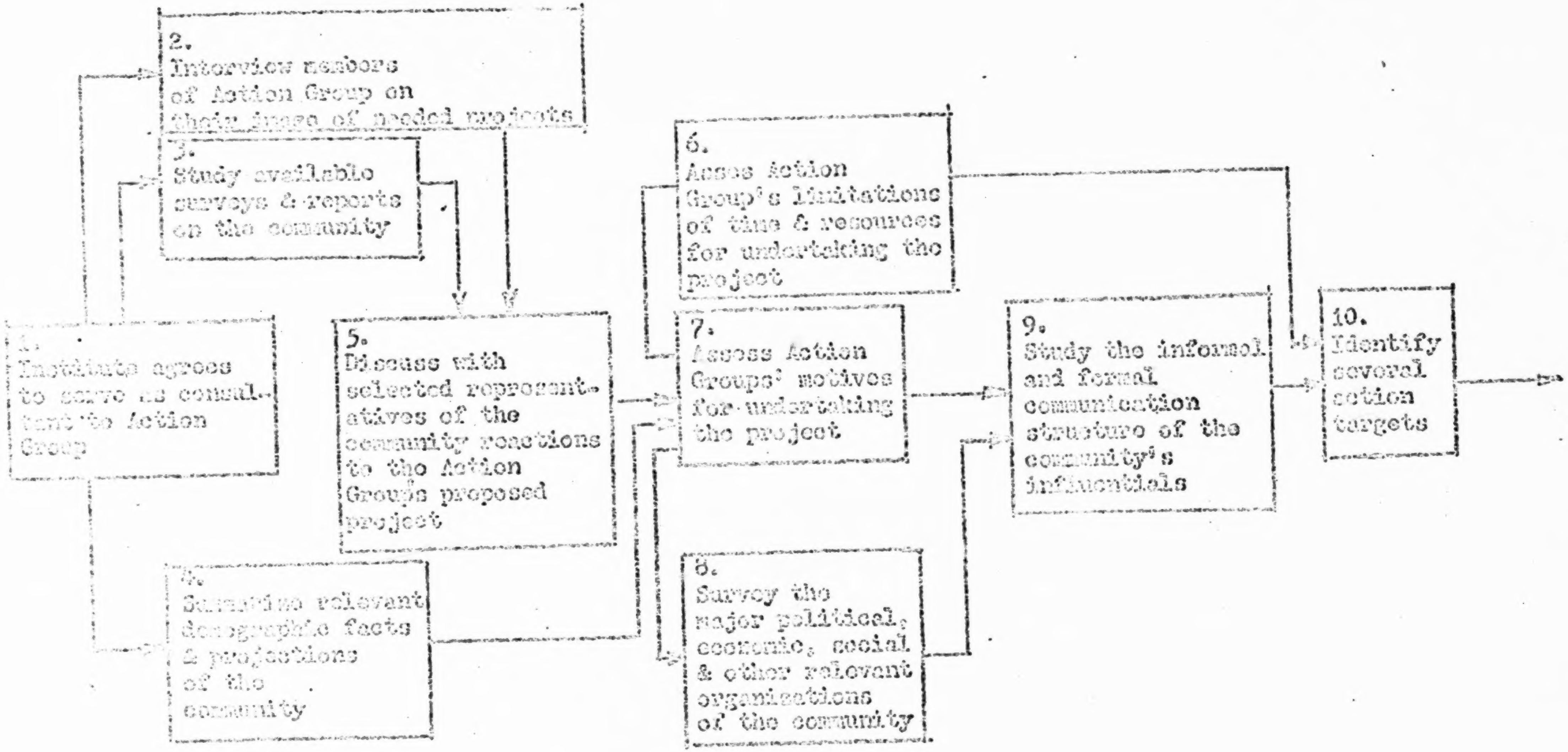
- .in relation to new information about itself
- .in relation to new information about community

SEE
NOTE
D

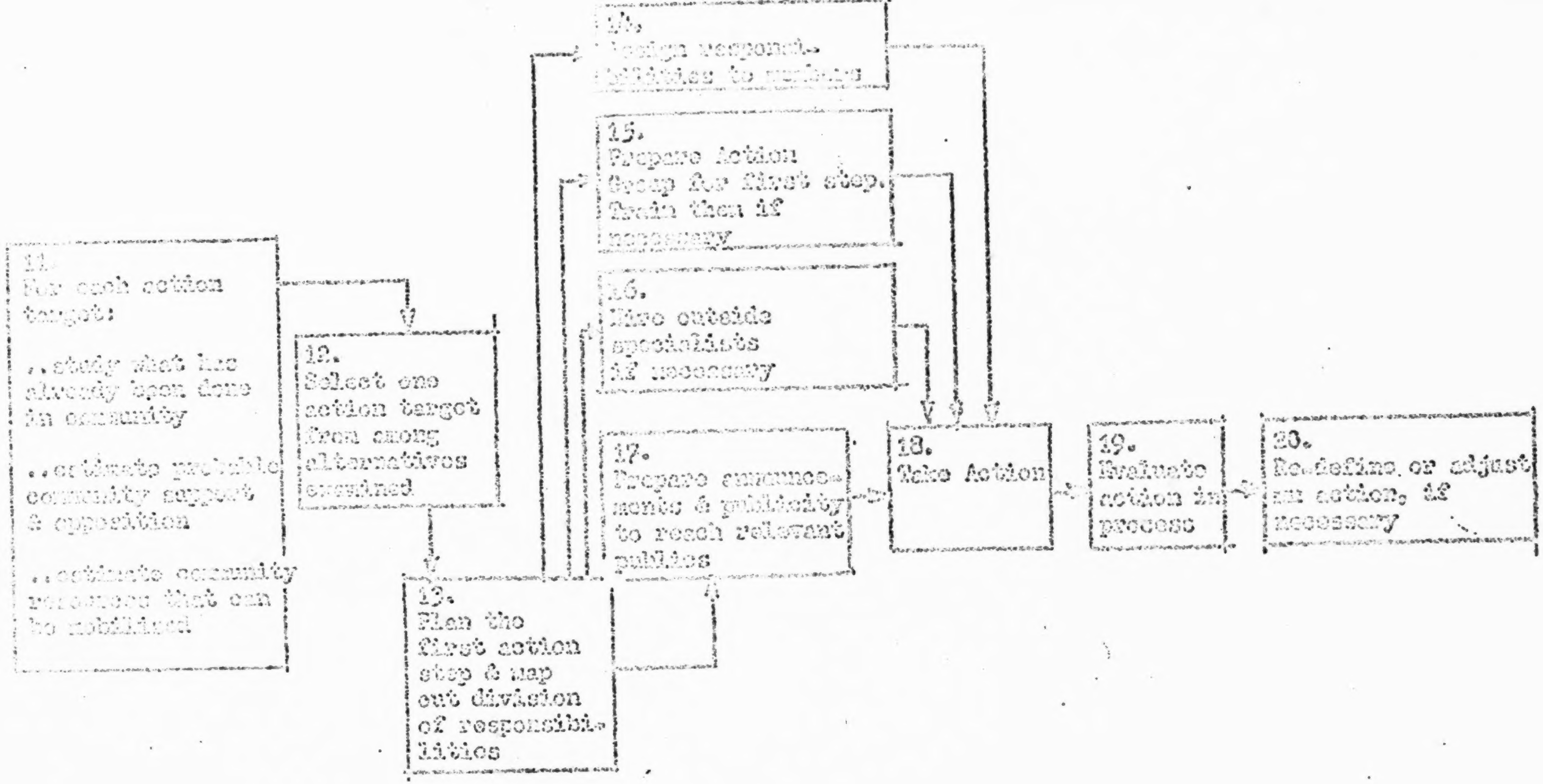
Sooner or later, the action group has to move its action project out into wider community. The group must take a first step toward actually implementing its plans and testing them. The first action step may take many forms--a series of programs in various organizations, interviews with key people of the community both to get their advice and invite their further participation, block organization of interested citizens, an invitation to interested people to consider and recommend further plans, pressure on official agencies, a mass meeting, a publicity campaign covering the problem and its seriousness, etc.,etc. Whatever form the first step takes, it should be designed to get maximum involvement and also to test the action group's thinking about the pattern of community forces with respect to the problem, and about the best ways of channeling them into working out a solution.

"Mr. Louchy--can we count on your organization to cooperate with ours on a project to........"

Sheet # 1B

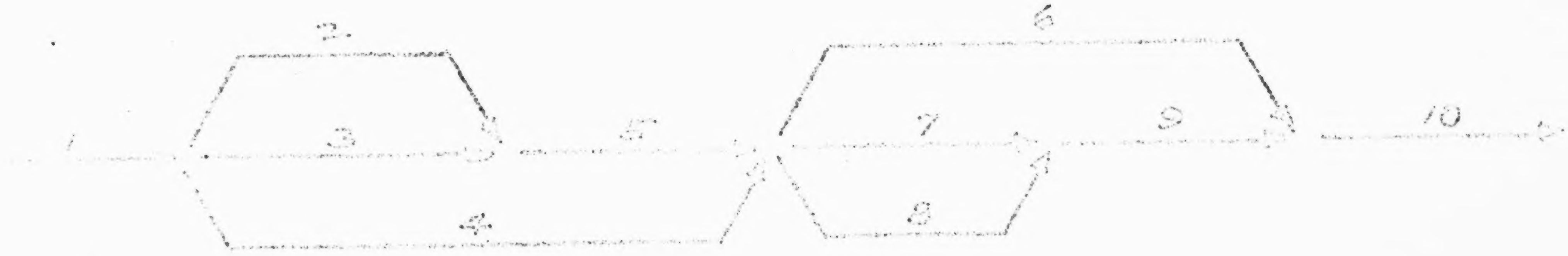

1.
Institute agrees to serve as consultant to Action Group
2.
Interview members of Action Group on their image of needed projects
3.
Study available surveys & reports on the community
4.
Summarize relevant demographic facts & projections of the community
5.
Discuss with selected representatives of the community reactions to the Action Group's proposed project
6.
Asses Action Group's limitations of time & resources for undertaking the project
7.
Assess Action Groups' motives for undertaking the project
8.
Survey the major political, economic, social & other relevant organizations of the community
9.
Study the informal and formal communication structure of the community's influentials
10.
Identify several action targets

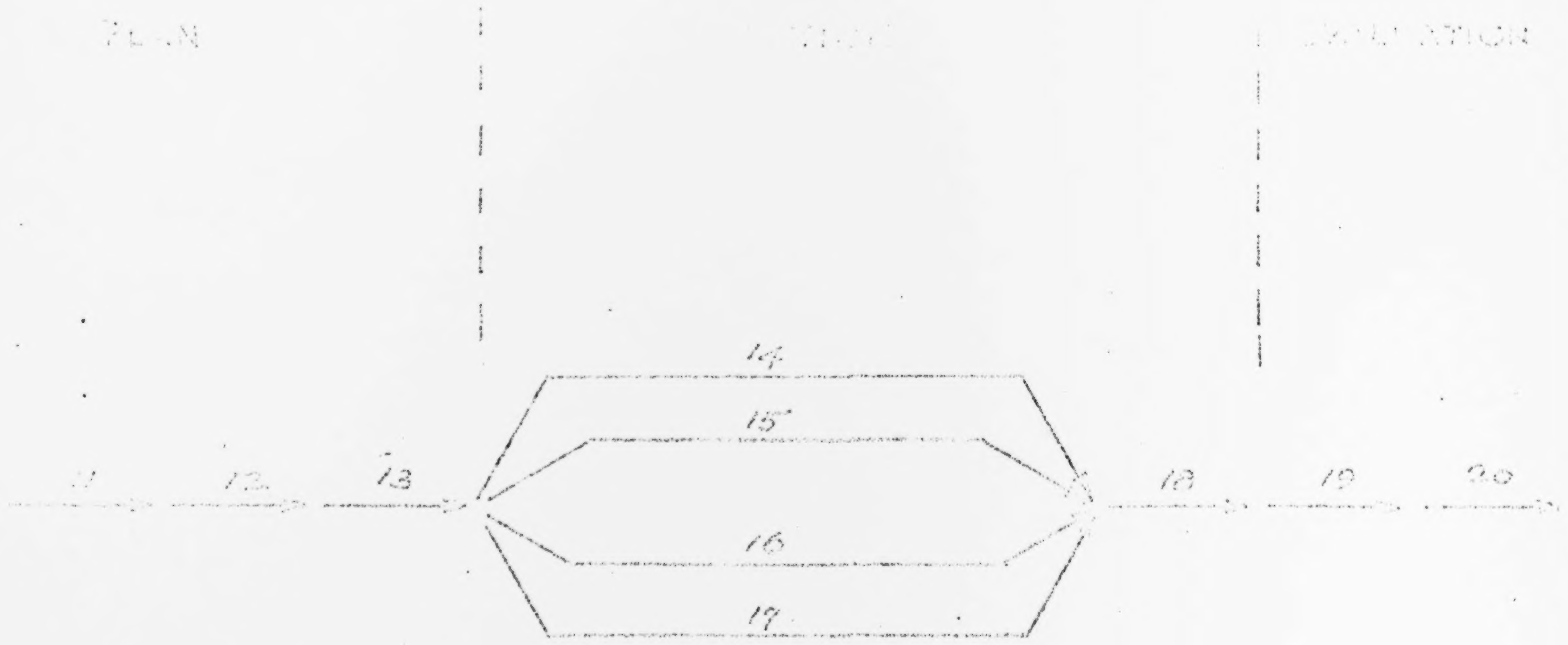
Sheet # 3A


11.
For each action target:
..study what has already been done in community
..estimate probable community support & opposition
..estimate community resources that can be mobilized
12.
Select one action target from among alternatives examined
13.
Plan the first action step & map out division of responsibilities
14.
Assign responsibilities to members
15.
Prepare Action Group for first step. Train them if necessary
16.
Hire outside specialists if necessary
17.
Prepare announcements & publicity to reach relevant publics
18.
Take Action
19.
Evaluate action in process
20.
Re-define or adjust an action, if necessary

Sheet # 3B

IMAGE


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10


PLAN
EVALUATION

Dr. Richard D. Duke, Associate Professor
School of Urban Planning and Landscape
Architecture, and Institute for
Community Development

GAMING-SIMULATION AS IT RELATES TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

There is a story which illustrates the situation that led me into simulation. A priest and a nun were playing golf; it wasn't Sunday I'm sure, and as they were somewhere in the vicinity of the fifth hole the nun was ahead by two strokes and the priest was endeavoring to catch up. He was putting and he missed, and he said "damn, missed again." The nun was horrified, and she berated him and was able to obtain a promise that he would not repeat behavior of this kind. The priest was leading at the eighth hole, but on the ninth hole the nun was again two strokes ahead, so he was terribly anxious to close the gap. On his last putt he missed, and again said "damn, missed again." The nun was horrified, the sky got dark, clouds came up, lightening came down from the sky, wham! It hits the nun and burns her to a crisp; and out of the sky comes a voice, "damn, missed again!"

For some years it has been my privilege to work with a variety of small communities both in Ohio and here in Michigan, and this bears on the comment raised by this gentleman a moment ago. After a three months or longer period of working with a group you discover to your dismay that you have missed again; perhaps because you have failed to perceive the interest of the groups that were involved, or you were misinformed, or your procedures were not sufficiently orderly to give you reliable feedback.

For seven or eight years, Stu Marquis and I taught the terminal course for undergraduate planners in the urban planning curriculum, in which we tried to get them to prepare a community plan. An annual cycle became apparent: toward the end of May a student would "light up" and say, "Why didn't you tell me that before?"

There is an old rhubarb which I was advised on by a long-time community developer, Ed Alchin: When you work with a group: (1) tell them what you are going to tell them; (2) tell them; and (3) then tell them what you told them.

This leads me directly to the notion of gaming as a device for communication. It is a structured, organized environment for learning. It is a simulated situation in which we can control some variables and present them in an orderly and fairly rapid fashion. It is a device where by we can communicate very complex notions in fairly short order. Norton Long has stated the rationale behind the gaming approach:

> "... man is both a game-playing and a game-creating animal, that his capacity to create and play games and take them deadly seriously is of the essence, and that it is through games or activities analogous to game-playing that he achieves a satisfactory sense of significance and a meaningful role.
>
> "Looked at this way, in the territorial system there is a political game, a banking game, a contracting game, a newspaper game, a civic organization game, an ecclesiastical game, and many others. Within each game there is a well-established set of goals whose achievement indicates success or failure for the participants, a set of socialized roles making participant behavior highly predictable, a set of strategies and tactics handed down through experience and occasionally subject to improvement and change, an elite public whose approbation is appreciated, and, finally, a general public which has some appreciation for the standing of the players. Within the game the players can be rational in the varying degrees that the structure permits. At the very least, they know how to behave, and they know the score."

Later in this paper he says, "the process of experimentation and adaptation in the social ecology goes on. The piecemeal responses of the players and the games to the challenges presented by crises provides a social counterpart to the process of evolution and natural selection." Norton Long was not in any way concerned with the development of a simulated laboratory game; rather, he was stating his concept of community and the interaction of the people as he perceived them.

The community is an extremely complex thing; it is necessary to consider one aspect at a time. But very often the solution that is proposed has implications in other areas of community life which are not immediately apparent. As an example, consider the concept of a "greenbelt" community. Back a little before the turn of the century some of the people who were taking a good hard look at London and other early communities of the industrial revolution came up with the "ideal community" in the form of "greenbelt" or "satellite" communities. Having just spent a few weeks in Los Angeles, I'm keenly aware that openness alone is not necessarily the answer. More complex answers must be found entailing multiple densities with compensating provisions to provide open space. The linkage of problems can also be illustrated within air pollution. Part of the problem in air pollution is the result of a series of natural circumstances which are beyond man's apparent control; but in addition, we know that the transportation system has a lot to do with it. A rapid transit system, which would make it possible for the population to move about without driving personal cars, would be one solution. Unfortunately, the density pattern in Los Angeles is such that it is probably not possible to come up with any kind of efficient rapid transit system. What we're saying is that we have convergent complexity; we take one area and try to solve it, and we run head on into another.

Some of the problems which exist in a community have some fairly apparent and direct linkages to other problems and these can be illustrated. If you are working with an unsophisticated person, it is often useful to convey some of these linkages. It may take some months of working with a group to bring them to a point where they can direct their attention to some other aspects of the problem which will ultimately alleviate the symptom with which they were concerned.

To convey these concepts quickly and specifically to some undergraduate students in urban planning, we developed a game called "METROPOLIS" which has been very much in demand since it was first created; it has been run over fifty times to date. Dr. Allan Feldt of Cornell University has developed a game called the "Cornell Land Use Game." This is a board game which enables the players to actually build a community. There are certain constraints reflecting those operating in the real world. Growth patterns are governed by such things as terrain, transportation, existing developments, proximity to other urban centers, and similar considerations.

"METROPOLIS" was designed for undergraduate students in planning; however, of the fifty runs probably not more than ten have been for undergraduate students in planning; the rest have been for reasonably sophisticated adults. It has also been made operational at a number of universities which have training programs in things as diverse as planning law at Harvard University to the air pollution group at the University of Southern California. As a result of the experience with the Cornell Land Use Game and with "METROPOLIS," several of us felt it would be ideal to develop a somewhat more sophisticated instrument in which we had real data for an actual community. This would enable increased sophistication of the conceptual model; the device would be useful for at least three purposes:

(1) Allow observation of real-world player interactions in a simulated community, enabling a better perception of the interaction of groups in the community.

(2) Second, we think it is a very valuable device for conveying some fairly sophisticated concepts to groups. Many communities in this country today have heavily financed, active planning groups, charged with the responsibility of developing a community plan. These groups are lay citizens who have only a minimum amount of

time to devote to this task; they are assisted by staffs who are often capable of coming up with some fairly sophisticated planning activities. These planning commissions are evolving to the stage where they are presenting alternative plans to decision makers. The problem has been that these plans, by and large, aren't adopted or followed by anybody. The problem is one of trying to get some sort of structured communication between the group of professionals who are dedicated toward a better community, and the various lay decision makers. Under financial support of the National Science Foundation, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and more recently from the Ford Foundation, we've undertaken to develop such an activity, called the M.E.T.R.O. Project.

M.E.T.R.O. will consist of Lansing, East Lansing and the adjacent townships operating simultaneously. For each of these we have four teams of people operating: city planners, politicians, and land developers. These teams interact around the operating budget of the community. The public is represented by a voter response model in the computer. We have gone back over a period of twenty years and checked the voting records in the communities in question. As a result, the model reasonably reflects how the public would respond if a certain issue were put before them. We don't make any claims that this is a predicting device; it is a pedagogic tool at this point. We have a fairly complex series of information for several time periods, about the socio-economic characteristics of the communities.

Succinctly stated, the typical run will last a full day. Generally six to ten cycles, each representing a year of growth. As the players move through the first four cycles they become increasingly more complex. A last cycle can be called whenever the game is to be terminated; in addition to the output of this last cycle, the computer would print out five and ten-year projections based upon the policies then in effect. Hopefully we would have some time in advance to instruct the players on the general background and some of the particulars of the community. (Editor: For a more complete description of M.E.T.R.O., see Richard D. Duke, *Gaming Simulation in Urban Research*. Institute for Community Development and Services, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1961, 72 pp. $2.50.)

David N. Milstein, Assistant Professor
School of Urban Planning, and
Institute for Community Development

LOCATION THEORY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

It is quite unfair to have been assigned the topic of location theory at this particular place in the program. Somewhere between a holistic approach and the ecological approach to follow, everything possible is covered. And the network planning discussion tells you how to do all of these things! So why do we need location theory?

The other insult--or possibly compliment--is to have to tell you everything I know about location theory in twenty minutes. I decided to compound the problem by trying to see if I could put everything I know about location theory into one page. Below, then, is a brief guide to what this field is about. What we would hope to do in this limited time, then, is to suggest how location analysis is part of the convergent group of approaches which hopefully can help the community developer. What is location theory? Why use it? How do we actually use it, or try to use it, particularly in the application with which we are concerned here?

A Brief Guide to Location Theory

Definition

A set of ethically neutral statements, which are or can be put into "if-then" form, showing the decisions as to place of operation which might be expected under specified conditions for new, expanded, or relocated activities of any kind of resource user.

Decision Units

a. Natural resources: agriculture, forestry, fisheries; mining and quarrying

b. Processing: construction; manufacturing--food and kindred, tobacco, textiles, apparel, lumber and furniture, paper, printing and publishing, chemicals, petroleum and coal, rubber and plastics, leather, stone-clay-glass, metals--primary, metals--fabricated, machinery--non-electrical, machinery--electrical, transportation equipment, instruments, other

c. Services: trade-wholesale and retail; finance, insurance, and real estate; transportation; communications and public utilities; personal and business services; government--federal, state, local

d. Households

Considerations

a. Transport costs: raw materials; finished products

b. Area cost differentials (per unit of product): natural resources--land, water, fuel, power and light; labor--supervisory, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled; supplementary--buildings, financing, taxes, local services, etc.

c. Market and supply area differences: size of marketing area; feasible purchasing sources

d. Clustering effects: scale--economies of larger-scale activity; localization--access to industry services and information; urbanization--local environment (shopping, schools, community facilities, etc.), regional environment (climate, nearby cities, outdoor recreation, etc.)

e. Personal factors

What Is Location Theory?

We need not get too worried by the formal definition above. In trying to put down some what seem to be essential elements, we get into rather cumbersome phrases. Let us look at them, a few elements at a time. I think it is quite important, first of all, to point out the origins of location theory and how they make a difference in how we define the field. We're going to be talking about a set of scientific propositions, with some art thrown in. The science has evolved over the last several decades, primarily out of economics but strongly seconded by some work in geography and increasingly surrounded by sociology, anthropology, and other social science tools. We have, then, a rather general or amalgamated field. One particular group of workers in this area, for example, actually has come up with the term (and a professional association) "regional science" to cover a lot of what we are talking about, but by no means all.

In any event, the essential framework is how people make decisions to use resources in different ways, at different times and places. This is the heart of what economists long have talked about. Economists, however, often have tended to ignore the question of where something will happen, which becomes quite important if it will or won't be in the region with which you are concerned. The first point in the definition, then, is to notice the scientific roots of work of this sort. Any statements which people have attempted to make by way of location theory, preparedly regarded, ought to be ethically neutral. Now this is very different from the community booster literature that all too often guides our efforts in regional development. In other words, if I make an "if-then" statement--for example, under certain conditions we'll get these kinds of factories into our region, or we have a greater probability of hanging on to these many jobs, or that they may go to other regions; or if we say this industry is tending to pile up in these parts of the country--I'm not saying that such results are good or bad. I'm saying merely that it will occur, whether I like it or not.

We are also not trying to flatter ourselves that our region necessarily has more virtuous people or resources than others. We're trying instead to take a hard look at the actual facts of how these resource use decisions are being made, whether we like it or not. The point is that the more we are armed with knowledge of what might be happening, the better we can try to tamper with events according to our own value judgments. Thus, we want to make these ethically neutral statements, without value judgments, at least to begin with. And we normally like to have them in this "if-then" form, saying if these conditions, then the following things will happen with regard to the place of operation of various activities. The results, however, can all be on a probability basis. So the whole field is still as much an art as a science.

Specified conditions are standard in scientific work. It turns out you can come up with almost any answer, if you are sloppy about the assumptions. You can point out very strange possible occurrences, such as large cities rising in the desert, that would be undreamed of except that it has happened in the American West--under certain conditions of climatic preference, of incomes for large numbers of retired people, air conditioning, water transfer technology, and so on. Under other conditions, you can say obviously a desert won't be a good place for much regional development. We should, therefore, specify the conditions carefully.

Two last points, I think, ought to go into a definition of this field. That is many people think location theory has to do only with where plants will settle. I don't mean it at all to be that narrow. A job is a job. Dollars in your community are there whether they come from a new plant, expansion of an existing plant, or a plant that does not relocate out of the region. They are all part of the location decision: somebody saying I will go, or stay, or come in. Also, the process is really much more general than talking about the industrial location, in the sense of smoke stacks or factories. Any kind of resource user has to make a location decision.

Now, how do you use resources? I don't just mean natural resources. I mean anything that concerns man, that you have to make some decision about: human resources, natural resources, man-made resources. (Much of this is out of the background of economic theory, but it is convergent with many other social science approaches.) You can either use the resources by way of a consumer's decision to buy something and use it up; a household sort of decision. Or, in a firm, which is a production unit, you can decide to take certain kinds of resources and change them physical, chemically, or with regard to time or place. A firm, then, is hardly just a factory. It can be a grocery, an university, and so on. A non-profit community development organization, for instance, is a decision-making unit with regard to inputs and outputs. The outputs can be goods or services. We don't care how tangible they are or aren't. Always you have to have a place where you will decide how to operate a certain scale of activity. All kinds of industry and household location decisions, then, are relevant to community development.

Finally, we don't care whether the enterprise is public or private; in a communistic or socialistic economy, or in a private enterprise economy, or in a mixture. Thus, a firm can include a government enterprise or agency. Many agency locations, of course, are fixed. But there are often decisions about branch offices, service areas, closing down certain locations, and so on.

Very generally, then, we want to see what tools increasingly are available for exploring what activities locate where. And by activities we don't mean to distinguish economic from non-economic. We don't need to make everything in life sound materialistic or dollar-oriented, but by activities here we mean of all kinds: that is any time anyone is deciding how to use resources, produce them, or consume them.

Why Use Location Theory?

With that sort of background, let's ask: Why use such a set of tools? Why be so frightfully general and take on every possible kind of decision about using resources? If the theory is that abstract, how can it help us on the job in actual community development activities?

To help answer these crucial questions, let us contrast this largely economic viewpoint with the typical or traditional approaches in community development. I don't mean to caricature the field, but have tried to explore various parts of the literature and perhaps may take as representative the personal-involvement process kind of emphasis the impressive recent book by the Biddles. There , one searches in vain for anything as crass and materialistic or detailed as industry, economics, or resource using activities. Instead, this whole stream of thought in the community development literature seems to ignore what uses will or won't be made of the human and material resources in a region. Instead, it says, "For gosh sakes, let's get our people involved!" Now that is very virtuous, and certainly is important, but on what should we be involved? What possibly can happen in our region? Shall we be involved when the future might suggest a strong decline in the amount of opportunities and activities in a region? Well, that suggests one kind of involvement. Or, we may want to be involved and face certain growth opportunities that may have been overlooked. So I'm arguing that these are another set of considerations in the community development process: to know what it is that we will have to face, if and as we are successful in organizing community participation.

On the other hand, there are books like Roland Warren's, on studying the community, that obviously recognize economic surveys and location considerations. There are also many brochures you can get, in almost any region, from area development agencies or departments of railroads or public utilities. These will bombard you with thousands of facts you should look at in the region's economy. There are lots of check lists which you should look at, and they name every possible consideration. The whole role of theory is not to duplicate all these thousands or more of facts in the world, or things to think about, but to give us some selective guide or filter as to what is important and why it is important; to organize our view of all those facts out there.

Now, what if you dodge the survey approach of too many facts and do face up to wanting to know something of how the population and the economy may evolve? What typically has been done when people do face up to regional growth problems is to rely on over-simplified tools. That is, if you look over a lot of the community planning literature, or material that community developers have often had to take and use as is, it amounts to horribly crude exercises.

Increasingly now, with or without a computer, we can see that most of our demographic work, telling us how many people we will have to plan for in a region, has two things wrong with it. Either it is a very simple extrapolation. We say, if the place keeps on growing the way it has, how many more people there will be. It turns out that there are many ways to do that now, not just a high, low and medium or a few simple numbers. The second thing wrong with the more purely demographic approach is that how many people will be in a region depends very, very much on what their opportunities will be, what their incomes will be, and what the community facilities will be. For this we want again to ask what location decisions will take place that can hold, keep, or attract people in the region, or will affect how many want to or have to migrate out of a region. For these reasons, it is suggested, we want increasingly to develop economic sorts of models, without relying only on economics but on something more broad that here we call location theory. This would give us somewhat better refined judgment as to how much activity, how many jobs, how many retirees, how many institutions of various kinds, and what tax base we may have to work with in our community development tasks.

The uses of location theory, I would argue, are thus two-fold: negative and positive. On the negative side, it can help one avoid a lot of the wishful thinking that diverts us from our real tasks. It is possible for almost any community in the world, no matter how bleak or miserable or out of the way, to put out a reasonably attractive brochure saying, "We are the center of the universe and obviously we have every possible location advantage." Places that we might never dream of have the nerve to say, "Come locate here." It is always possible, by some of the latest geographic techniques, to distort a map so that you do appear to be the center of the universe. You can always count enough population within 500 miles, or if necessary make it 800 miles. For almost anywhere, if you draw a large enough circle, you can say a lot of markets are nearby. If the workers are highly paid, you can argue they are productive, alert and intelligent. If they are low paid, you can argue their great wage advantages. If certain facilities are present, you can emphasize them. If desirable facilities aren't present, you can ignore them. So I fail to note any community that can't flatter itself into thinking, or at least stating--and often the wish is father to the fact and we end up believing--that it is a good place for various things to locate. It is all too easy to feel that almost any region can, will, must, and should grow.

There is a great negative usefulness, then, in saying "Wait a minute, let's take a much more dispassionate look at some of the real forces at work that may encourage or inhibit certain activities from locating in our region. Let's also take a systematic look at the fierce competitive processes in all societies and economies such that not everything will rush to our region just because we know the home folks are very nice and want more industry." Furthermore, the competition is especially fierce because almost everybody wants clean, high-income, high-tax paying, low-disruption industry, and there just isn't enough to go around. There is even strong evidence that in many a region you can do best if you merely hang on to what you have. Much more regional expansion, in many cases, has been due to expansion of existing industry rather than searches for some new plants. So much for the negative side, in helping us avoid shopping around for all sorts of things that we have little or no hope of getting in a region.

On the positive side, location analysis can arm us with some fairly realistic, or increasingly realistic, shopping lists as to what we might attempt to lure into our region. This, I submit, is much better than the traditional projection approach because the moving hand of a trend line pen is not inevitable. The whole point of going through many of our model building exercises is to find out how to change what would happen if existing trends continued. Several years ago, for example, a capable geographer did a location type economic base study for the Pacific Northwest. The computer, rather than he, pointed out that if logging employment continued as it had for some decades there would soon be no logging jobs in the region. This upset local cultural ideas of a Paul Bunyan way of life, and various residents were quite angry. For that and other reasons, the study in fact was suppressed. Yet it was quite neutral ethically. The researcher didn't say loggers are good or bad. He merely said that this is what has been happening the last few decades in your employment in this industry. If you want to change it, don't suppress the study. That won't change it. Do something about the underlying conditions that attract or inhibit logging activity in the region. So we would like to have, for positive usefulness, a list of what there is of that which might or might not locate, expand or relocate in our region or in competitive regions, and then some idea of what to look for rather than merely thousands of facts. The rest of this discussion, then, will go into how we can use location theory.

How To Use Location Theory?

Before using theoretical tools to explain why certain things are happening in a region, it is important to learn clearly what is happening. In recent years we have sharpened very much, even though they are still rather simple, our techniques for seeing what is happening in regional development. One notable example, just completed by the new Division of Regional Economics in the U. S. Department of Commerce, is quite revolutionary. They have put into a computer the last few Census records of employment patterns in every county in the United States and, with human judgment before and after, performed something called shift-share analysis. Underneath the jargon, this is really a simple (though voluminous) operation. What it amounts to is stating, first of all, what would have been each county's share of jobs--in about thirty-five different categories, ranging from farm to factory to store and office--if its employment growth had kept pace with that of various larger geographic units: the state, region, or nation. In one class of jobs, for instance, local boosters may point with pride at their region's fifteen per cent gain over the last Census decade. Yet that is really not doing very well if, say the U. S. jobs in that category grew twenty-eight per cent over the same period. So an actual increase, or substantial growth, doesn't necessarily mean a region is holding its share of national growth in a particular type of activity.

That is where the shift part of the analysis comes in. We subtract the actual growth in jobs--and it can be done similarly for payrolls, sales, or etc.--from what the growth would have been if the region had maintained its previous share. The result shows whether there has been a positive or negative shift. In other words, has the region gained or lost in locational advantage in that particular category of resource use decisions? The technique doesn't say what is happening, or if it's good or bad. It merely documents what has been happening.

The remainder of the task is the role of theory--to say why; and then if you wish the role of policy--to say what we should do if we don't like some results which otherwise would occur. What, then, does theory tell us about how to organize a meaningful view of the thousands or millions of events taking place in our region or other regions?

As shown in the Brief Guide at the beginning of this discussion, resource use decisions can fruitfully be organized in terms of the typical kinds of units that make the decisions to come into a region, close down operations, or expand them. These decision units, when aggregated into broad categories termed sectors, basically are quite simple. They amount to three production sectors and one special kind of sector, the household. This approach has been quite useful in application to under-developed countries and to all kinds of regions in our nation. If you ever need to use it in actual project, it has been codified as the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC), with as much detail you might want, ranging from very general one-digit levels of a few sectors all the way down to extremely detailed four-digit levels. Within this industrial type of classification is every possible way people can make a living or consume or produce a resource. The production sectors often are called, simply enough, primary, secondary, and tertiary. Primary industries involve a heavy pull toward locating where nature for various reasons has put the resources, whether they are renewable biotic resources or mineral resources. This natural resource grouping typically occupies most of the labor force in a poor region or in a poor country, ranging up to estimates such as eighty-five to ninety per cent or so of Chinese manpower engaged in agriculture and still not always feeding themselves. In many regions--if you take this way to count jobs or enterprises or to see who is doing what or what most of the location decisions have been--you need a lot of detail, let us say, under agriculture.

Now it turns out that early in an industrial revolution there is a massive shift of the majority of the population out of this primary category into the secondary or processing sector, composed of construction and manufacturing (plus, sometimes, mining as well). Whether or not it may amaze any of you, it surprised many people in this country about a decade ago that for the first time in history we found a society, in which we have what might be called a "post-industrial revolution." Our industrialization and urbanization put a majority of the labor force and population not in the industrial processing sector, but in the tertiary layer of services. So most of us are engaged in pushing around intangible products, if you will. These, however, are just as countable, and have just as much regularity about where they locate and at what level they operate, as do the primary and secondary activities.

Each one of these categories can be broken down much more if desired, or kept simplified. In any event, every one requires a separate sub-theory, if you will. Locational factors affecting primary metal production, for example, vary a lot: the aluminum industry is quite different from the steel industry. Theory tells us what to look for. You might, for instnace, want to contrast fabricated metals production, in Michigan heavily oriented toward automobile parts, with the quite different locational considerations that come into play when considering where you might put an aluminum processing plant that would refine raw bauxite. In any event, increasingly, a lot of our attention is going to the service industires. That is where a lot of the action is, in terms of the labor force, and it is likely to remain so because productivity is not growing so rapidly in the service sectors. Our greatest revolution in productivity having been in agriculture, and next to that in various kinds of manufacturing, we are left with an opportunity and a challenge. Some regions, then, will remain inevitably agricultural, and there is nothing wrong with that; or forestry regions, or predominantly manufacturing. Thus, we have a systematic shopping list of what might locate in the region where we are practicing the arts of community development. Certain categories immediately could be removed from consideration, if we obviously are lacking some of the important or necessary resources, man-made or natural.

Lastly, we should not ignore the household sector itself. This is again to stress that it isn't always a matter of pulling in a factory or a store or something else, and then people showing up because that's where the jobs are. Under modern conditions an increasing number of people are able to locate almost wherever they might wish to be. We have strong pulls to the so-called amenities regions of the country, notably Florida and the Southwest for climate and scenery purposes. On the other hand, certain cultural and social ties inhibit people from moving away from their families, and from communities with which they are familar. If you take this down to a micro-geographic scale, similar location theory is helpful and necessary. Let us say that you are working in a major metropolitan area, and you don't want to know what people will be in Michigan or California, but rather whether those in Michigan will tend to locate in Detroit or in the suburbs. This can be critically important in terms of taxes, transportation and land use planning, and community development efforts of all sorts. So household location decisions are a field in their own right, and we have begun to have theory and studies in this area. Obviously they interact with industrial location decisions, in the very broad sense, by organizations in the natural, processing, and services categories. If people strongly concentrate on what was formerly an open land area, there is a strong pull of certain market-oriented service facilities: liquor stores, bowling alleys, delicatessens, and so on. In time there might be enough concentration of population to lure certain factories. So-called urbanization economies may occur.

Now, in our very brief tour, let us look at the main considerations in location theory: the things the theory tells us to look at. Here we are trying to boil down a century or more into a few pages. The books suggested at the end of this paper are small samplings that don't deal entirely with location theory, but do impinge on or use it. Their bibliographies do get you to some of the classical technical work. In any event, we are not saying that everyone should run out and become a location theorist. What we are trying to do is suggest the flavor of how an organized ability to look at location decisions may increase one's professional effectiveness in the field of community development. Essentially, there are five layers of thinking that have been found helpful in analyzing the location decisions of agricultural enterprises, manufacturing firms, service establishments, and households. They are presented in the order in which they evolved historically, and amount to adding on layers of complexity. (This is a very special trick which has been learned in various scientific fields. Reality is so complicated. We all want to explain reality, but sometimes it is more fruitful to start with a fable, if you will.)

If it may tell us a lot about reality, then, if we can start with a deliberate lie to ourselves. Let us say we had a world in which there were no location problems: the markets were given; there were no cost differences anywhere; everywhere you had resources that you needed; and in general, there were no differences in suppliers, no cities or countrysides. In such an unreal world, where would various activities locate? It is possible thus to formulate an extremely unreal model, in which everything will locate randomly. That is, anything can be everywhere, with equal probability. This doesn't interest us very much. Some time ago, then, people came up with a slight movement toward reality and said: What if there were a few materials that you needed which weren't present everywhere? Well, it turns out there are ways to solve, in theory and in practice, where certain kinds of activities would locate, if access to raw materials and/or certain finished products were important. This more less traditional theory for a long time was thought to be all your nearest location theorist could tell you, if he is at all useful: where heavy raw material or occasionally finished-product orientation will put certain factories.

What I am trying to suggest here is that: (1) we are interested in not just factories but also households, services, and so on, and (2) there is more to it than just transport orientation. In fact, activities often will not locate at the least transport cost point, although, if you are trying to save on costs, and that's all that is at issue, that would be an awfully handy place at which to locate. By definition, it would be the optimum location.

Why, then, don't we always locate at such a point? Well, first of all in reality there are dynamic problems of uncertainty and changing conditions. So, in much of this theory, we start by saying: Let's keep a static world; let's simplify by assuming given conditions. But you can eventually expand to the changing conditions. More important, a lot of the newer kinds of activities aren't that dependent on transport costs. There are much more critical locational determinants. For instance, if you have a cost-plus contract; if you have access to a peculiar type of transport--the U. S. mail--where for the cost of a stamp and not much difference in parcel post, even, you can ship things almost anywhere; or if you have a high value product relative to its bulk, so that the shipping costs aren't that important, as in many electronic components, then the transport considerations don't matter very much. Who, for example, would be crazy enough to locate electronic production in Texas, which is about as far as you can get from MIT or Stanford? Well, Texas instruments--over a billion dollars a year of activity and lots of jobs and regional growth--is, of course, in Texas, because sending out transistors is not heavily dependent on transport. In the Nineteenth Century much industry production was heavily dependent on transport, so the theory which evolved explains what was real in many cases then.

Next, we can add a layer of differences in cost by area. We say, what if the world did have what we see it does have; namely, certain differences in labor power, land, or other costs of production not related to distance as is transport. Here you have to be careful to express costs as per unit of product. Cheap labor is not really cheap. It costs very little per hour, but it doesn't produce that much. In other words, if I'm interested in profit maximizing I'll pay a man five dollars an hour if he produces ten times as much as a dollar an hour man. We have to be careful about what's really a cheaper input of labor, or where taxes really are cheaper. If lower taxes mean poorer community services, on balance they may really not be a saving.. In any event, it is possible to sketch mathematically, or on a map, ways to take care of transport costs plus area cost differentials. We can solve for what the optimal locations would be if what you were trying to do is minimize cost, which many a firm is trying to do.

At that point, in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century, we were reminded, however, that a lot of firms or enterprises are not trying to just minimize costs; they really like to make the most profits. How about that case? Well, it turns out then that profit-maximizing didn't appear explicitly in the cost minimizing models because they assumed the problem away. It was alright as a start, but only as a start. Moving more toward reality, we can incorporate other effects into models, bringing into account how much you gain or lose by way of market and revenue if you move into Chicago or if you move to Mississippi, New England, and so on.

Lastly, we've increasingly noticed that often it pays to locate somewhere because you can build a large enough plant and take advantage of economies in large-scale production. So, unless no matter what the size of factory or store or anything else, there are no scale economies, there is a strong push toward locating where you can build a larger facility. In the case of households, as well as production enterprises, advantages of being near others in the same field, or being near all the clustering advantages of a larger urban area, can be enormously important under modern conditions. There are some studies indicating that you won't want to move just anywhere in the country with an enterprise just because they have nice parks or schools and such, since there are many competing communities that have such facilities. Once a decision has been made that a certain region is appropriate, however, the detailed search often does include a look at community facilities. Much of this, by the way, recently has been computerized via the networks.sorts.of techniques, so that you can have a systematic search. The leading factory locating service now does the same, for certain kinds of locations, with a room full of filing cabinets accumulating non-computer data. In principle, anybody could do a systematic search of this sort.

The tough problem that saves us from believing that all can be explained by this or any other theory is the personal factor. There is some faith that we can develop theories to explain certain probabilities of certain kinds of decisions, by knowing the personal characteristics of the decision makers. Some evidence exists, for example, as to where Negroes do or don't migrate, where retirees do or don't go, and so on. But obviously, there are always very special cases. You locate somewhere because you grew up there, or your wife has relatives there or your wife doesn't have relatives there! What do we do with these? Well, it turns out that, the larger the enterprise, the less likely it is that you can give into what we call the "idiosyncrasies," or at times irrational factors. But, they may not be irrational. They may sometimes be just as important.

Also, we have the analogy of scattering seed. It may get scattered in many ways, but if some ground is not fertile it is less likely that the plants will grow there. So we can say, again, that though a lot of the personal facto will wash out over a reasonably long run, there will always be some that theory will not explain; unless, of course, we somehow include in our theory an expectation of a lot of these personal cases.

Altogether, we do not propose location analysis at all as a panacea, or claim that it is a highly exact science. We do say that it is a very useful input, whatever the degree of involvement in community decisions, to get some idea of what the contents of those community decisons will have to be. We don't think the largely (but not entirely) economic approach presented here is merely some trimmings on the cake, to be looked at afterwards. Obviously, we are not living for dollars alone, but it sure helps to know how many people and jobs and taxes we can count on as we get on to the higher issues of life in our developing communities.

Selected Paperback References

Benjamin Chinitz, editor. City and Suburb: The Economics of Metropolitan Growth. Prentice-Hall (Spectrum), 1963 ($1.95)

Harvey S. Perloff. How a Region Grows: Area Development in the U. S. Economy. Committee for Economic Development, 1963 ($2.25)

Charles M. Tiebout. The Community Economic Base Study. Committee for Economic Development, 1962 ($1.50)

Paul H. Ray
Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology

ECOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

From time to time every field needs a little friendly criticism, and my purpose is to use the subject of human ecology as a springboard for some cautionary remarks on community development. Lest my conclusions sound like negativism and gloom-mongering, let me note that I use the sharp tool of ecology to highlight what appear to me to be neglected issues in community development. Planned social change and community development are becoming high priority goals in modern society, but we do not often enough ask whether current practice will properly meet societal needs.

Let me act as devil's advocate and question the justification for your existence. I shall do this from a viewpoint that will probably appear foreign, for it combines human ecology and the politics of social change.

Ecology is a term that is used for three rather different disciplines: plant ecology, animal ecology and human ecology. In all of them the main concern is how species of organisms live together in the same environment, forming some kind of "communities." But plant and animal communities are not particularly interesting to persons interested in economic and social development, even if the word "community" is held in common. Human ecology is located primarily in sociology and treats human communities as the most important way that the human species adapts to its environment. Ecology is a holistic field, for it looks at men in the aggregate, at social systems, at technology and at problems of location theory. The materials presented by my fellow speakers on holistic approaches to community development, on network analysis and on location theory all make it very clear that no boundary worthy of the name exists between what ecologists deal with and other areas. In fact it is a great convenience to me to say--"just think about what my predecessors in this series have said, and we'll go on from there."

The basic concepts of ecology are surprisingly simple. We observe populations of people who are trying to make a living, and we note that they are in some kind of environment and to adapt to their environment (seen both as a territory and as surrounding groups of people) they use a well-defined social organization and a technology. Population, Environment, Organization and Technology--these are the core of the field. We are very careful to locate man in nature, and then to say how does man make it? The philosopher's problem of order, that is, "Why does society persist?" is answered by the ecologist--"Without society, men would not survive." The key unit of society is the community, the local area of life--that area in which basic sustenance for men is produced and/or distributed. Ecology is interested in everything that has to do with the production and distribution of the basic goods and services that men need. Therefore, it touches upon geography (for territory and resources), upon economics (for production and distribution via the market) and, oddly, upon politics (for much of distribution is a political question of who gets what, and when and how?).

Unfortunately for the spiciness of my presentation, ecology is a very technical subject and quite abstract. Since most things that concern ecologists would be a bore to community development people, let us agree to avoid technical problems and high level abstractions. Those technical services that an ecologist can perform for community development people are not substantially different from those of an up-to-date urban planner. Ecologists often have an unfortunate tendency to study spatial and time patterns of cities as natural phenomena, satisfied to stop with an explanation of how it works, assuming that not much can be done to improve matters. "How do you make it better?--or make it different?" are not questions that concern the ecologist. Change is impersonal, seldom planned, to him. He assumes that it would cost too much to make really important structural changes. Let us avoid this bias and ask what the ecologist could, if he would, say to help those who wish to plan change in human communities.

On the Nature of Ecological Constraints

Everything in ecology comes back to the notion of mutual dependence within a community, that is, a complete circle of exchanges based on production and distribution of goods and services. The quality of life in any community depends on the quantity of goods that can be extracted from the environment and be processed in the community. That is, we trace wealth and life style back to your natural resource base and to efficiency of organization. Resources always pose an upper limit to what any change agent can achieve. By "resources" I simply mean all those means we can put to the service of our ends, that is, the goods, or sources of wealth that serve goals of organizations. Natural resources are just one aspect of this, we can also add resources in entrepreneurship, in strategic locations, in human resources such as labor force productivity, or in such specialties as a site for tourism. Ecology points to the critical nature of the limits set by such resources, and to the social patterns that emerge from using such resources. Ecology can suggest what cannot be done to promote change, despite all the good will and all the right-thinking people in the world.

Positive thinking, boosterism and talk of cooperation are the stock-in-trade of many community development people. Hence, we can ask--what relation have they to really fundamental social changes? It may be spreading gloom, but I suggest that in many situations we can't do a thing, so that it would be a waste of time and money to plunge in with enthusiasm and talk of "pulling together." The concept to invoke is "ecological constraint," i.e., in conditions of scarcity, any decisions you make will be so bound in by the need to make a living and by inherent risks in the situation, that those decisions will simply validate, or justify, what had to be done anyway. Ecology suggests that in many situations there is no scope for creative management, making politics a redundancy, nay, a luxury. Politics operates only when we have enough surplus, a) to allow the risks of planned change, or b) to give real choices among alternatives. In the absence of a surplus to invest in alternatives, the only choice may be to continue as we are, for failure could mean disastrous losses. All over the world today, local initiative does not exist because of ecological constraints. If a community is small, and/or stagnant, and/or poor, the prospect of setting and achieving real political goals is too often a mirage. The peasant, small farmer and small businessman are not stuck in the mud *only* because of ignorance, hidebound traditionalism and suspicion of outsiders. They are also captives of a high risk, low margin would, where *only* the sure thing will command their interest. One big loss and they are wiped out, or else prisoner of the loan shark and the big landowner. Social change *is* risky and it *is* costly. The well-known ways are not just a set of comfortable old shoes that the target population is reluctant to trade for seven league boots. The old ways are often a shield against disasters in a world that is poorly understood and therefore is threatening. And all too often what the change agent has to offer are not the equivalent of seven league boots, but merely an uncomfortable pair of hiking shoes, built for walking up rocky trails the target population is really leery of. *Much resistance to change reflects the fact that we who are promoting change carry no insurance policies--and those of us who claim to are damn liars*!

The community development specialist is a change agent who wishes to help people to self-consciously promote change. It is critical to see that this is not an economic nor a technical decision so much as a *political* decision. The politics of planned change is self-conscious risk taking, which means that: a) there is a general movement by the population toward a collective goal--most unlikely, or b) that there is sufficient concentration of power in the hands of a few to allow them to push the community in a given direction. The realm of the politics of change is *affluence*, for in times of scarcity, the absence of surplus resources precludes self-conscious change. Ecological constraints must be identified.

Whether or not ecological constraints operate in the modern American community depend on: a) its size, b) its economic growth rate, and c) the wealth level of its citizens. The town that tugs at the heartstrings is the little out-of-the-way town of 1800 population that has been stagnating for decades. But a really small place suffers terrible diseconomies of small scale. To improve its educational or health facilities to the national minimum standard will cost more per capita than is spent in the wealthiest suburb in the country. Why? A town of 1800 will have a maximum of 600 children of school age, probably about 500. If we divide them equally among elementary and secondary school, there are 250 to 300 children per structure. Yet it is not possible to build a good high school for less than 600 pupils, or a good elementary school for less than 400 pupils. The small school district can easily spend $500 to $600 per pupil--for a third-rate education. Yet that is the per pupil expenditure of the most expensive suburbs in the U.S., Grosse Pointe, for example. It is simply not possible to run small school districts efficiently, and their output is inferior. We can go through exactly the same argument for hospitals, for public roads in low density areas, and virtually any public good. We see the effects of ecological constraints. And such constraints operate in the vast majority of small American communities. Many do not spend at $100 per capita above the state average for each public good, and the quality of life suffers accordingly. For with the total funds available, all operations must be run with insufficient personnel and antiquated technology and equipment. The school system cannot hire specialists and a separate set of teachers for each grade. And in low density areas you may be talking of $10,000 per person for a road system that barely stays in place when there is a hard rain. Modern services are out of the question. Economies of scale and the complex division of labor are the stock ideas of the ecologist, and they fit the larger cities, not the small towns of the community development specialist.

Parallel to the community developer is the urban planner--who often concentrates on metropolitan areas, and finds size to be a reverse problem. Diseconomies of large scale, particularly congestion, disorganization, and overwhelming complexity. It is clear that man has invented no social institutions yet that can handle masses of people in places of over a million population. Problems are so vast and complex that it is hard even to visualize it all mentally--much less suggest programs. Research and development firms around Los Angeles have calculated that merely to get the data to analyze the current Los Angeles problems (and come up with this year's solutions in a decade) would require the entire budget of the state of California. We face enormous ecological constraints in metropolitan areas--for there exist no organizing schemes that will not trample on somebody's rights along the way. Political decisions? A farce or a disaster.

The rate of economic growth gives similar constraints on planned change. Stagnation or decline on the one hand and explosive growth on the other both pose nearly insuperable obstacles. Areas with a history of continuous, predictable growth can engage in steady investment patterns, both in the public and private sectors. Business and government can rely on one another to perform reasonably in the face of social change, and most social institutions tend to develop adaptive mechanisms. The change agent will not have to work very hard to find an audience in such an optimum situation, but he will be in competition with an enormous number of alternative proposals. The role of the change agent is then not to stir up interest in change, but rather, to provide rational criteria for anticipating future changes and for evaluating competing proposals. Expertise becomes the scarce commodity on the market. Analytical tools belonging to the systems analyst are the sharpest, but their precise application to urban communities is still vague. The time for planned change is nigh, but the lack of technical training of people in community development or in urban planning means that the change agents of the future may be technocrats with systems training and with a corporation-oriented value system that you and I would heartily distrust.

The community development specialist is usually called in for the stagnant or declining community. He is to provide the panacea. Remember the "risk" argument--apart from providing insurance against disastrous experiments, you must also contend with a "sick" system. Banks are often afraid to release loan money into the local economy and hedge their fears by investing outside the local region. Money is doubly scarce. Talented younger people have left, and are leaving, the area in a steady stream, and those who remain are often the least competent to experiment with planned change (are in fact the most threatened by change). Costs of public goods are rising anyhow, so that with a constant tax base, the quality of services (that make an area attractive) is declining. How do you provide better services in such an unfavorable situation? Bootstrap operations are notoriously improbably undertakings. The optimal solution is to completely redefine the resource base of the community, e.g., by discovering a tourist attraction, by bringing in radically new technology to raise productivity, by bringing in a whole new industry. Obviously not every stagnant community can bring in tourists, or the relative advantage of any one would be cancelled out and they would be in bad shape again. And very few tourist attractions are sufficient in themselves to save a community. The new technology gambit works best across cultures as in our foreign aid programs--within the U.S. it will mean little. To bring in new industry is the dream of every Chamber of Commerce in the country, from the hamlets to the super-metropolises. What has your community to offer in the inter-community growth competition. It became stagnant because of its lack of attractiveness, so what is its differential advantage now?

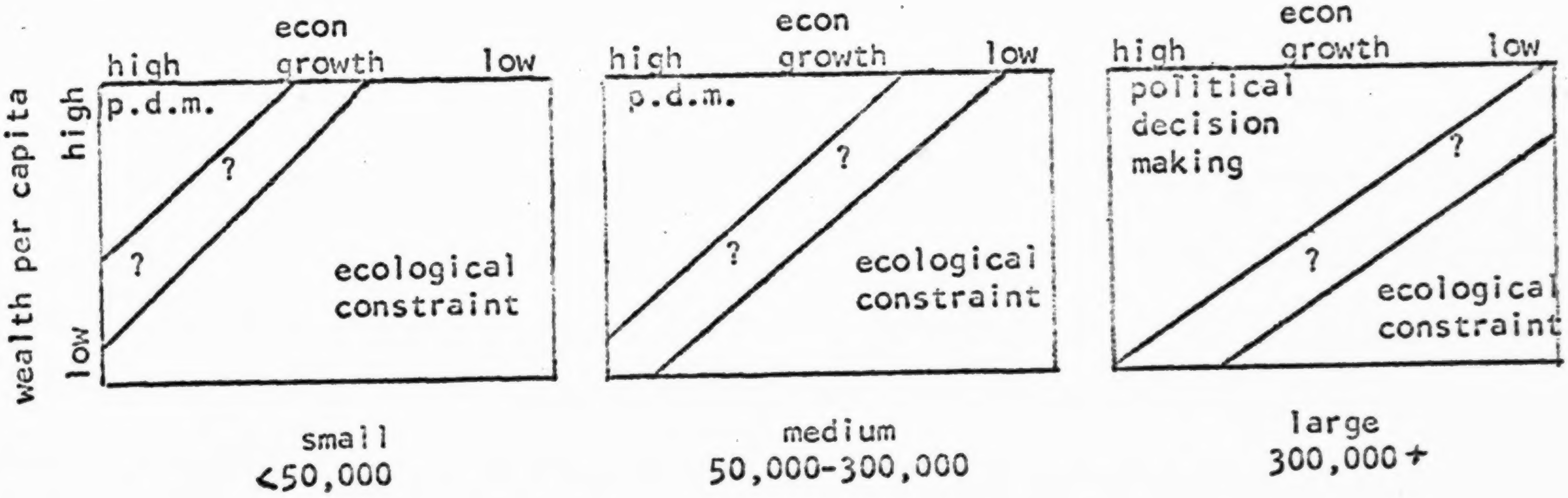
The inter-city growth game is an attractive-looking gambit. Chambers of Commerce and a huge variety of booster groups practice growthmanship. In such a game the larger, more established areas always have an enormous advantage. They have the skilled labor force, the banks, the transportation advantages, an image of progress, etc. What can make the stagnant community look desirable? There is a circularity to the problem that is hard to break: a good tax base allows public goods to be provided which attracts industries and families which help the tax base, etc. If all cities practice growthmanship, then extraordinary efforts are needed by the mediocre community just to hold their own. Mere image building to the rest of the nation is too easily found out--after all, the parks, schools, hospitals, museums, labor force skills and tax rate are easy to check on. Similar cities all across the country tend to offer similar packages to entice new growth. Hence, the real gambit may turn out to be a matter of packaging--marginal differentiation--where differences that are stylistic, faddish, consumption pattern differences are stressed. The attempt to start a Greek theater in Ypsilanti, Michigan is a good example, though it appears not to have succeeded. We are talking of the U.S. as an urban society, a system of cities, in which people vote with their feet, by moving to different communities in a metropolitan area, for example. Attracting residences only is, incidentally, insufficient. Households pay only about 80%, on the average, in property taxes of the value of public services they demand. The difference must be made up by taxes on commercial and industrial property. A house must be in the neighborhood of $45,000 before the city breaks even. Thus, not all growth is really desirable. Increases in public services to make a weak area attractive often end up by raising the tax level, discouraging the industry and commerce the city so wishes to attract. Very few cities can simply sit and wait for growth to come to them, e.g., suburbs on the metropolitan fringe, for the image problem enters again. Ultimately, growthmanship always comes back to expanding the resource base of the community.

If we can't change the basis of existence of the community, then we can suggest the rest of the people leave, or that the Federal government step in like deus ex machina proclaiming the virtue of these chosen people and passing out money. Boosterism is a cruel hoax, if the community development specialist does not have very far reaching reforms in mind, indeed. Far reaching reforms are referred below to a discussion of the politics of the status quo ante.

The third variety of growth is unlikely to concern the community developer, for growth is usually seen as a good thing. But in fact explosive population growth (ca. 10% per annum) is disorganizing to a community and is usually self-limiting because of the problems it trails in its wake. At the very least, the community becomes a less pleasant place in which to live because fast economic growth invariably implies fast population growth, which in turn gives a growth of demand for public goods that always outstrips the capacity of the government to provide them. Local governments are reactive entities, and the faster the growth of demand the more radically inadequate are services, due both to poor organization and inability to get monies for finance. Use of property taxes means that funds in the treasury lag behind growth by at least two years. Explosive population growth in developing areas is a useful contrast, for the shape of disaster is all the more plain. Here it precedes rather than follows explosive economic growth, and the demand for public goods, especially health, education, welfare, is worsened by a shifting dependency ratio, wherein a smaller % of the population is in the labor force. In this case, population growth often pre-empts economic growth, because vital investment funds are siphoned off into consumption goods for mere survival.

The third ecological constraint is the per capita wealth level of the population. A surfeit of money can always make up for constraints imposed by size or growth, but the absence of money is perhaps the ultimate constraint.

At the community level, median family income is a function of the communities net exports, its ability to sell to the rest of the world. The exceptions are dormitory communities, but their exports may be considered the working population's services. The tiny, stagnant suburb with a median family income of over $15,000 will always get along and does not merit our tender ministrations and concern. The tiny, stagnant hamlet in Appalachia with median family income of $1,500 is probably beyond help, however badly we may feel about it. The need a deus ex machina, or complete emigration. Similarly, the metropolis of several millions of population must be evaluated in terms of wealth potential that could be put to social change. If I have to choose between Calcutta's self-help program and Chicago's, I'll put my money on Chicago every time.


econ growth
high
low
wealth per capita
high
low
p.d.m.
?
?
ecological constraint
small
<50,000
econ growth
high
low
p.d.m.
?
?
ecological constraint
medium
50,000-300,000
econ growth
high
low
political decision making
?
?
ecological constraint
large
300,000+

We may use the three dimensions of size, wealth, and economic growth to classify cities. In the diagrams above, each city in the U.S. would be a point somewhere on one of the three squares, depending on the values of the three variables. We may say of a city whether political decision making or ecological constraints will determine its attitude and approach to social change via community development.

Those in which ecological constraints predominate: the poor and/or small and/or stagnant are better left alone by the community developer if he values positive results. Those in the questionable zone may be ripe fruits for the plucking. Those in the zone of political decision making are operating in the realm of intensive contacts with the Federal government and are acquiring teams of specialists, and, therefore, are likely to have little use for traditional community development people.

Given the relation between ecological constraints and political planning of change, it would appear that the market for community development people is extremely limited. By a market, I mean those places in which there is a genuine need for help and at the same time in which a person with traditional community development skills can honestly make a real contribution. Few changes of any value or magnitude are possible under conditions of ecological constraint. The more ecological factors there are to work for planned change, size growth or wealth, the more community development becomes a political process, using technical instrumentalities. But the larger, wealthier, or richer cities are, the more national politics is likely to enter the scene, whereupon the traditional community development people are quickly outgunned by representatives of federal agencies, carrying more resources for growth and more political muscle.. Given these facts of life, is community development, as now practiced, politically viable in the long run?

Community Integration and the Status Quo Ante

We started with the proposition that because all communities are crucial for sustenance of their members he who wants to change a community may actually threaten sustenance relations. And only fools talk of change, and mean fundamental social change, and then do not mean altering fundamental ways of getting a living. If you are proposing to alter the sustenance base of a community, then realize that this alters a relatively comfortable status quo that the majority depend on. Even the inconveniences, or a slow downward slide, have a familiarity that a risky future darkens. Let us suppose, however, that even the masses can see beyond the ends of their noses--you still usually have to fight powerful vested interests. Those who are pillars of society and repositories of civic virtues are as often the enemies of change beforehand, as they are the beneficiaries of it afterward. However, laudable is virtually any reform attempt, as in trying to do away with fetid, crumbling slums, the reformer finds that some segment of the community makes a good living from someone else's inconvenience or misery. Slumlords are often lofty institutions: especially major universities, banks, insurance companies and churches--through intermediaries of course. Interested in New York's air pollution? Just look at Con Ed and the New Jersey refineries. No such pillars of society ever need deal directly with a messy problem, or with the inconvenient reformer: a veto is enhanced by being passed at third or fourth hand. "No one" is then at fault, and those who man the redoubts of obstruction to change can operate thus for years--living comfortably all the while, and appearing elsewhere as benefactors of the community. It is an axiom of ecology that communities are webs of interdependence--and this is a political as well as an economic fact. One reason that a substandard situation remains so, is that it is maintained. Another is that communities are not any more the focus of American public life: our attention goes to the nation. We live as "limited liability" citizens in a community, not willing to invest very much in public goods, so long as life is not absolutely intolerable. With a low level of commitment to the public sector of a community it is seldom that social movements can be created to rectify situations, and it is seldom that politicians can draw upon any basis of active citizen support. The community has become a context in which we get a living, we can take it for granted we think. So incremental reforms have little support and larger reforms look risky. Social change that is only vaguely in the public interest has few interest groups, no constituency, and usually offends vested interests.

What really needs to be done in most cities is a very drastic step, and that is to break the veto power of the business establishment over the decision making that goes on in most middle sized and small cities. What that means is quite simply that businessmen don't have to be in elective office to get what they want. Businessmen want a progressive image in the community, that's good for business. They want clean streets, they want no race riots, but they don't necessarily want welfare, they don't necessarily care about avoiding pollution, and they don't necessarily care about the quality of education unless their particular workers are affected by inferior education. If you are going to make your city grow, you're going to have to make major changes to make it really different from other cities. It can't just be one more carbon copy of 200 other cities of about the same size somewhere else in the country, for that offers no competitive advantage. To promote real structural change you're going to have to step on somebody's toes. Are you important enough to get away with it--mere community development specialists? Permit me to doubt it.

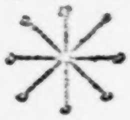
The role of the community development people must be a political role. In the political role of the community development specialist, who wants to plan change, who wants to break up what somebody sees as a good thing, the first thing to investigate is political leverage. What can you do in the political process to make things any different at all? Let's say you're located as a community development specialist in an university, e.g., an associate professor, perhaps tenure (they can't fire you for saying unpopular things). Whom do you deal with first if you want to change something in that community? What have you to bargain with? What can you give to power figures in return for giving something up? Perhaps he is a slumlord who owns ten blocks of rotting apartment houses. What can you give him in return for giving up this nice profitable investment that doesn't require a lot of upkeep and requires only the misery of about 5,000 people? Are you allied with powerful politicians? Do you have access to the mass media so that you can broadcast ads everyday? (at the cost of only $500 a minute on television) Where would your funds come from to foot the bill for all that exposure in the mass media?

What would you say to the voters to get them to pay a higher tax rate, just to reorganize the system when you can't guarantee improvement, but just so it might be better someday? Can you demonstrate a coherent theory of planned change? None exist, to my knowledge. I, for one, have no panacea: I haven't any answers. But ecology would suggest that you are going to have to move a whole structure of people that has grown in on itself for perhaps a century, so that you must have powerful levers to shake it loose. What vested interest does a community development specialist represent? Whom are you defending from some great and gross evil? Usually you are talking about how to make something better, and not how to avoid a disaster. Avoiding a disaster will not always get people moving fast--until doom is about to fall on their heads of course. Avoiding a disaster is the strategy of crying "Wolf!" and may work; but usually what happens, looking back over the history of cities, is that it gets action about the time the pain gets unbearable and just before total collapse is imminent. So it costs society ten times as much to avoid complete disaster as it would have if society had done a little sensible planning a few years ahead of time. But again we come back to the nasty problem of who is going to give you the right to make plans and decisions for somebody else? Who's going to let you mess up his relationships at a cost to him? Who's going to let you break into a whole circle of mutual back scratching in the community, even if the circle is slowly going downhill. What have you got to offer? What are your resources?

We are talking about resources in a slightly different way now, we are talking about political resources, and none of them are in the control of community developers. Do you represent a powerful vested interest group like the political machines? I haven't heard yet of a community development specialist that would admit to that. Perhaps you represent the Chamber of Commerce? Then everybody is going to accuse you of having sold out, I suggest. And, of course, you won't admit to representing the Mafia. Very well then, is there anybody else that's powerful that you might represent: maybe a major industry? I guarantee you they're concerned with the national picture, they're concerned with influencing state government, but they don't care a whole lot about influencing local government, it's just not big enough, not important enough for them. They are selling to the national market; they're dealing with national politicians; they are worried about whether the national government can affect their rebates on investments; they are interested in what kind of tax picture is going to come up; i.e., they are interested in making a buck. If you can help them make a buck, then yes, you can have your community development project. I would suggest that their backing stops there. Where is your public that you have organized, that's howling in the streets for change? Are you going to be a political organizer along the lines of Saul Alinski? Where is your social movement? Where is your group of true believers that will go in and break up the city council meeting on command? What's your in in the community power structure, whom do you know? How many power figures that really run the city do you know to address on a first name basis, just any old day of the week, when you have a problem in changing the city? I suggest that many community development types probably don't even know who they are!

I would estimate that any respectable social change process for even a middle-size city of about 100,000, such as Lansing, is going to cost a minimum of twenty to fifty million dollars: Do you control that kind of money? What's your status in the community as a community development specialist? Where does that put you in the line of prestige? Middle class? Well, I suggest that the first time you lay your prestige on the line to declare what a city needs can well be the last. Community development types, like urban planners, are small enough fish that any radical proposals made will result in disaster. The city fathers are likely to suggest that it's really not terribly necessary that your function be performed in the city.

One alternative is to have a powerful Federal agency backing you, and then they are going to start talking about outsiders coming in and ruining their good town. But I suggest that perhaps that's the only political leverage you've got as a community development specialist. The pervasive ideology of local autonomy in American communities is reflected in an aversion to government-sponsored planned social change. It is not necessary to rouse the bugaboos of totalitarianism, massive bureaucratic controls, central planning, socialism and communism, to make that undesirable, but that's where the muscle comes from. to deal with the vested interest groups that naturally arise in communities, such as the association of downtown merchants, or the association of manufacturers. These groups hang together only so long as they have a vested interest that's threatened, but believe me, you're threatening it if you truly wish to promote change. I would suggest that you can deal with interest groups in four ways: Can you hurt them more than they can hurt you? I doubt it! Have you got more voters in your pocket than they do? No! Can you buy them off? I don't think you've got that kind of money! And then are you riding the crest of a wave in history, so that you only really need to throw them a bone just to let them save face. No, your community can probably go down hill and be forgotten forever. There probably isn't any wave in history that is going to save you at the community level.

The ecologist, more and more is slipping into a problem of talking about how are the lines of communication organized in the community, because more and more of what people really are using to trade among themselves to survive is trading information, is trading ideas, is trading inventions, so you ask who talks to who, what kind of mass media have you got, what is the structure, how are the lines drawn so various groups can talk to each other in the community? They talk about the lines of communication between parts of the society and they talk about the lines of communication within a community, either way you look at it, the community development specialist is in a rotten position. Most networks are very centralized as in the diagram. . All roads lead to Rome, and all roads lead out of Rome. Rome may be the local television station but its message goes just one way. Rome may happen to be the political machine in your city, sitting at the center of the spider web, because that's how it stays alive. Any political group keeps track of who owns who, and where the bodies are buried, and sees to it that all the little strings of communication and back scratching lead back to the center. The first thing the community development specialist has to find out, is how far out of the center you are. I guarantee that you are not in the center, or you would be called something else--such as mayor, political boss, or member of the community power structure. So one of the things you can do to describe the way a community is organized, or a whole country is organized is to ask where the communication lines go, and how many people can be reached with a given dollar of effort. The first thing you find is that your communications position is very weak. You can't really get out great quantities of information to convince people to change themselves from any community development stand. And if you are a national figure trying to run a community development project, the first thing you will discover is that the people who ought to be your best customers--those out in the provinces--suspect you as an outsider and won't listen. Perhaps the most critical idea to think about is the notion of political communications networks. Ask yourselves: where are you in it, how many people can you convince, how many people can you even talk to, how much does it cost you to get your message out? If you are out on the edge of a network it costs a fortune to get to the other parts of the network. If you're in the center, it doesn't cost very much at all. Try to move into the center, go where the power is, go where all the networks cross.

I would suggest that historical, traditional, good-hearted community development is not where the action is. Historical, traditional, community development, seems to me to be largely composed of people who have extremely good intentions and none of the muscle to put change through. They may even have extremely good ideas for changing society. But that doesn't matter in the face of political realities. I would suggest, that what is wrong with community development from the standpoint of an ecologist is that you don't have the resources to move a major portion of an ecological system to some other way of doing things. You have neither the skills, nor the ideas nor the resources to promote change. I suggest that essentially, one of four things has probably been happening in community development (and I am going to put this harshly for a purpose--community development may be worth saving). Either: 1) community development has promoted no significant changes historically, produced no major changes of the fabric of modern communities, or 2) they have taken credit for changes that would have happened anyway, or 3) they have been bought out, coöpted by powers structures in the community, to be front men for the changes that the power people wanted, or 4) that their goals have been so vague that no matter what happened they could never be accused of failure. The classic example of the last case is in India, where village development teams go in to have a cultural revival: they are going to go in and help the people see how the government really is, by showing plays, they are going to give all sorts of information out, and have mass rallies, and to what end. Perhaps the nice thing about that is that there isn't one thing you can do to measure how different the village was from the day you walked in. However, in developing areas the problem is more straightforward because more severe. Massive doses of new technology and capital can succeed when they are put to the narrow goal of changing some portion of the way the environment works--it usually is the best way to get things going, because you can tell how much dollar value you got for dollars put in. I suggest that it is possible that community development to be fantastically successful will follow a Chinese Communist or Russian model. We can reject this gloomy prospect only if we are confident of the wisdom of the people (who have put themselves in a mess), or if we are confident of our skills of manipulation, or are willing to be poltical leaders. I would suggest that community development people need to find out that the most important thing to know is how to be a political figure who wants to promote economic ends. And then all the mechanisms we have talked about will do some good.

Dr. Gerald Miller
Associate Professor
Department of Communications

COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

I had the opportunity while I was with the University of Washington, to do some consulting work with community development programs in the state of Washington, and I really believe that the kind of professional activities that you are engaged in are among the most exciting and prospectively valuable kinds of activities that one can get involved in. I suppose my faith in the value of what you are doing somewhat tempered my thinking about what I could hope to do this afternoon, in the course of thirty minutes or so, to acquaint you with what I believe to be some of the dimensions of communication relevant to the process of planning and executing community development programs.

I had a hard time for several reasons. Number one, I don't really know how to talk about a communication theory. We are notorious bandits, in the area of communication, and we steal from those whom we can find to steal from. Consequently, I think much of the material in social psychology and even in experimental psychology, verbal learning and verbal behavior, sociology, to some extent systems analysis, general systems theory, computer simulation statistics; in fact, a whole plethora of areas are indeed relevant to the general area that we have labeled, for lack of a better label, communication. At least, in this particular university, our department is very much a multidisciplinary area. We have people from all kinds of special interest fields who gather with us, so it is hard to define for you a unified theory of communication similar to the kinds of presentations that I'm sure you have been exposed to in the other areas that have been talked about during the program. So what I tried to do, I think, was to define a somewhat broader context for looking at communication, and to raise a very general sort of question as to how communication is relevant to you, as professionals, engaged in the process of trying to plan and to execute community development programs.

In order to define what I think to be central about the area of communication, you would have to think of the human animal in two different kinds of contexts. One context is as a doer, a person who is actually experiencing and doing things: the artist paints or sculpts; the community development planner plans; and the engineer constructs. But I think another basic characteristic of the human animal which partly differentiates him from other species is that he not only enjoys and derives rewards for doing, he also gets a great deal of reinforcement from talking about things he is doing. I suppose that it is a good thing for college professors, that people do derive the enjoyment of talking about the activities they are engaged in. I think all of us, no matter what our activities might be, enjoy talking in some frame of reference about these activities. Fortunately or unfortunately, however, I think these two dimensions of human existence are inextricably bound up with one another. It is almost inevitable that the way we go about talking about the things we are doing also influences the way we do them.

As I was listening to Dr. Ray, I noted that his vocabularly for talking about community development, the assumptions he makes about the important variables that enter into the whole question of community development, will also inevitably affect the way he will actually go about planning such community development. On the other hand, I'm certain other people who might have been in here addressing you, and who might talk about the problem in very different terms, would also tend, I think, to actually go about doing things related to the problem in a very different way. So what happens is that the kinds of methods we develop for communicating about our activities have a very profound influence on the way we go about doing them.

Some of our pioneering linguists, such as Sapir and Whorf for example, have suggested that the two processes are almost inseparable. One cannot really think without employing language; the kind of linguistic baggage that one carries around with him influences not only his whole perception of the world, but the way he goes about carrying on daily transactions in that world. And so, I think, there are ways of talking about this daily common place activity that we call communication that may; perhaps, enable us to go about the actual process and activity of communicating with greater effectiveness than we have tended to do in the past.

Now this is a presumptuous statement to make to a group of professionals; there are certain kinds of built-in resistences to talking to this kind of group. Most of you might not be too unwilling to admit that you don't know much about ecology or something like this, and so you don't mind someone standing up here and saying, "Look here are a few of the things you ought to know about ecology." On the other hand, anyone who is so presumptuous to stand up here and say, "Here are some of the assumptions and the things you ought to keep in mind when you are communicating," is immediately suspect. Most of you are going to say, "Look, I've been communicating with others most of my adult like. I do a lot of it. I know a good deal about it. Now who is he to climb down from his perch over here at the university, and take up part of my busy time and tell me how to communicate?"

Well, maybe this is a bit presumptuous, but I think the kinds of assumptions that I want to talk about are assumptions that all of us can violate, and I certainly would not claim that I'm any more or less suspect in this area than any of the rest of you. I think primarily the discipline of communication, at least as it is an applied discipline which relates to daily professional questions and problems, is more of a vantage point or different way of looking at the world, which is perhaps different from the traditional ways in which most of us were educated. What I would like to do this afternoon is sketch out a couple of major assumptions that underlie this vantage point that I have labeled communication, and, hopefully, relate them to the kinds of professional problems you are faced with in your daily activities in community development.

Let me talk about two major assumptions that underlie this particular vantage point. Neither of them will seem particularly earth shaking when they are explicated and talked about, but I think they are indeed relevant to the kinds of daily activities in which you are engaged.

The first major assumption underlining our way of looking at the communication process, is that the basic purpose of any communicative act is to affect the behavior of someone. Any time we are communicating we have as our goal influence, persuasion, or, if you want to use the term, behavior affect. Behavior affect is that which brings about certain overt or covert changes on the part of some receiver or group of receivers, with whom we are communicating.

Now you may say that this is an earth startling kind of revelation; that, generally speaking, you're aware that when you try to communicate with someone you have as your purpose the affecting of his or her behavior in some way. Why in the world is he making such a thing of this particular point? I would suggest that the ways we have gone about talking about communication in much of the formal education that we use, tends to shift the focus of this purpose from affecting people to constructing messages. None of us are immuned to this.

There is a notion that the process of communication is primarily a process involving the construction of some kind of message. If certain kinds of prescriptive rules are followed, and if certain kinds of analytical bills are then used on our part to ascertain that the message is constructed in a particular way, then we, as sources of that communication, have fulfilled our responsibility. If our communication does not have the desired behavioral affect upon the receivers for whom it is intended, then this is largely their fault or something is wrong with them or their mental equipment is defective in some way or a host of all other kinds of rationalization that we all use when we see that our communications have missed the mark. I would submit to you that, in your role as a professional planner and worker in the area of community development, at least some major part of your activity is not involved in gaming theory, urban planning, engineering, or message construction; but, rather, in people business, and your success or failure hinges largely upon your ability to influence and to affect the behavior of those people.

Now what does it mean to say that communication has as its primary function behavioral affect? The only reason I'm up here trying to communicate with you now is that, hopefully, I will exercise some kinds of effects on your behavior; whether it be at the covert level of some changes in attitudes, knowledge level, understanding, or something like that; or whether it be at the overt level of trying to motivate you into doing certain kinds of things: going out and buying certain products or reading certain reference books. Whatever this might be, there is some kind of a dimension involved here which says that I'm trying to affect your behavior.

What kinds of assumptions or what kinds of burdens does that place upon me as the source of the present communication? Obviously, one of the burdens this places on my shoulder is the necessity of adopting some kind of a receiver orientation for what I'm doing. In other words, trying to look at you as a group of receivers, enumerating your present attitudes toward community development, communication, the role of communication and community development programs, your knowledge level about the area, and so on..

It might be very exciting for me to stand up here and talk about proprioceptive backlash stimuli and fractional anticipatory goal responses. But you couldn't care less. What differences do proprioceptive backlash stimuli make, you don't see them walking down the street back home very often? So I have to try to subsume this kind of natural source orientation and this tendency to say that communication has been effective if, somehow, I feel that I have done a good job and said the things properly. I have to consider who these people are with whom I'm communicating. What are their backgrounds of knowledge about the area of communication, about social science; in general, what are their attitudes, their present, their social context in which I'm communicating with them?

Now this is difficult enough to do in a setting such as this, where we have a group of professionals with a common backlog of interest and with similar attitudes toward a number of problems that have been discussed for the past two days. I submit to you that the problem is multiplied, as you are more aware than I, when you have several clienteles that you are trying to communicate with. And, inevitably, as I have heard suggested several times this afternoon, this is a problem each of you is faced with.

You are communicating within the community to a number of different groups and institutions, to people with different vested interests and kinds of attitudes for community development. There is certainly a tremendous difference between the slum landlord you were speaking about earlier and the 5,000 people living there, and yet, if you are to be maximumly effective you have to try to communicate with both of these clienteles, and with a number of other ones as well. I think the important thing that we have to emphasize is that these differences are there, and in communicating with these various individuals and various groups it is not efficient to worry about the form, the style, or the quality of the message you are constructing.

One does not evaluate his success by quantifying the number of written memos that go out to various people each day. Although I think in many organizations there is a tendency to do this. Whether or not any of those memos has any behavioral impact on the people they were intended for somehow gets lost in the shuffle. The question becomes, how can we get inside these other people and see what makes them tick: the whole notion of empathy and being able to dissect their attitudes, see what they are and how they are perceiving the world, and how they are structuring the reality that they live in. We all like to be able to quantify and describe reality, and this is awfully difficult to do because every one is going around constructing his own.

It is sometimes easy if you have nice precise tools like gaming theory and general systems theory and these kinds of things. Sometimes you get a slop over of people and that fouls up the whole system; then this quantifiable reality gets pretty diffused, because you get 13 or 14 people sitting around who aren't seeing reality the same way you are. So there is this definite need to think very carefully about the possibility of structuring the situation from a receiver orientation. And structuring situations, and I guess this is the point that both of the previous speakers this afternoon at least touched upon, and I guess Dr. Ray talked about it quite a bit, raises the problem as to how you structure those situations so that the desired behaviors will be perceived as rewarding or reinforcing to the receivers you're trying to communicate with. How can you build into your communication some kinds of reinforcing contingencies, some rewards, or at least some reward that will be perceived as a reward by the particular individuals you are trying to communicate with?

Now there is no doubt that economic motivators are powerful kinds of motivating contingencies. I don't know how far one goes in saying that there are other kinds of less tangible rewards, learned secondary reinforces if you will, that people also respond to. I think that being over cynical, to say, for example, getting in and pitching and pulling together always is going to fail until there are some people who have learned over time that they are doing socially correct things. Some of our most powerful motivators in advertising focus on this kind of thing.

Janis and Feshback and some of the early people got worried about how affective fear appeals are in bringing about the desired behavior and bringing about attitude change. They showed some high school kids films about dental hygiene; one of them was a very academic, factual, rational discourse about the importance of dental hygiene. The second one had a lot of horrible pictures of decayed teeth, diseased gums, and a picture of a dentist with a fiendish look drilling away on this poor guy who is suffering--all kinds of so-called fear arousing appeals which were calculated to really emphasize all the undesirable things that would happen to you if you didn't brush your teeth well. Well, Janis and Feshback found in their particular study that, in fact, the mild fear message, the message that avoided these kinds of various harmful physical consequences, seemed to be a more effective method of communication, seemed to bring about more behavioral change consistent with the purpose of the communication than did the strong fear message. But I think this immediately got over generalized to the notion that you should never use strong fear appeals because they aren't as good as mild appeals.

There are other kinds of appeals that are just as anxiety provoking. While I have never seen many toothpaste advertisements that do invoke upon us all those horrible agonies of having your teeth filled you do see a number of them that do focus upon how important it is to have people stand close to you in the elevator, or how nice it is to have your girlfriend kiss you instead of sneering and drawing from you in disgust. There are kinds of cues denoting social approval or disapproval. I think most of us are conditioned to react to these cues so that there are possibilities for building into communications secondary reinforcers of this type. True, they may not be as effective as the more tangible economic motivators, but may in some cases, at least, bring about some of the kinds of changes that you would like to bring about.

I don't know what all these are, and we don't have time to talk about them, but I am suggesting to you that this kind of analysis of your receiver is certainly very important. I think that probably the most important thing is to try and structure this situation so that the situation is rewarding to the receiver, but not necessarily in terms of what you as a source of that communication might perceive as being reinforcement.

The second basic proposition I want to mention is probably not any more earth shaking than the first, but still has some implications for your communication activity. It is the general notion that the locus of meaning or the place where meaning resides in any communication transaction is in the source and receiver of that communication. Or to put it into a shorthand form, meanings are in people not in words. I think that too often our ordinary language leads us to fall into the trap of believing that somehow meaning is some mystical quality of words or the sound waves of the scratches on the paper that we are using to communicate with others. We tend to forget that, in fact, the locus of the meaning of those sound waves and scratches resides, not in that message, but in the sources and receivers to whom we are communicating. I think this is probably the major problem that anyone is faced with when he is trying to communicate with a number of diverse clienteles.

I've been doing some consulting work for the Office of Economic Opportunities here in Michigan. Recently they have been trying to build a council consisting of more than the community power structure, which for sometime were largely the sole persons involved in the council. In other words, the meetings would occur and you would have the local physician, and the local banker, and several important business leaders within the various communities, and they would sit down and talk about what they can do for the migrant workers, and try to arrive at some kind of programs, action programs, that would do something.

Recently, there has been an acknowledged need for the addition of some migrant representatives to this particular body, that is, some people who are actually aware of the problems of migrant labor.

I attended a recent meeting; one of the first meetings at which migrant workers were in attendance. During the course of this meeting I sat and clenched a number of times, because I heard the person in charge of the program itself, one of the state officials actually working in the Office of Economic Opportunity or in the Economic Opportunity program, refer to this particular group of people as "residual migrant." Now I'm sure that when the bureaucracy in Washington coined that term, they had some kind of meaning in mind for it. It was probably a kind of nonconnatative denotative phrase, which has a nice academic sound to it, that they picked out of the air. But it was interesting to watch these migrant members of the council kind of squirm visably everytime that term "residual migrant" was used, because that obviously had a very different kind of meaning to these people. I think it was a total dehumanizing kind of meaning; it almost took them out of the status of being human beings into being something completely different. "Residual migrant" is an antiseptic term, and certainly doesn't have any kind of phonetic balance to it. Now, I think that if we were to go to the person who coined that term he would say, "Gee, I know what that meant, but I didn't mean there were any inferences meant about their abilities, mental capacities, or background." The point is that the kinds of meanings that particular person had for that particular label was entirely different from those shared or held by those migrant workers.

By the same token, you are faced with a tremendously complex problem of working with various groups of receivers who have a wide divergence of meaning for the terms you are using, and some of these could be very abstract, like progress. Obviously progress means something very different to some of these landlords we were talking about, as opposed to the people living in those particular tenements. The question you are dealing with is, how can you arrive at some understanding of this divergency of meanings, but not only that, how can you select words effectively so as to stimulate the kinds of meanings you are trying to stimulate in these various clientele?.

I think in looking at the communication process we could have taken any one of a vast number of models here this afternoon. Model, at least this kind of model, is a very arbitrary thing. It depends entirely on the purposes of the model builder. He selects out what he thinks important and he throws out what he thinks is less important. On his hunches he then tries to do some research, and generates some hypothesis to determine whether or not that model has any kind of empirical fit.

In closing this afternoon, I would like to suggest to you just one possible way of looking at this whole process of communication leaving wide open the notion that there are probably dozens of other ways we might look at it just as effectively. I will start out by saying to you that the first emphasis is on the source and the receiver of the communication, rather than starting out with the notion of any messages; let's leave messages clear out of the system. Let's talk very briefly about some of the variables or some of the property of those two individuals, the source and receiver, and how they affect the fidelity of the communication that occurs.

We mentioned some of these. For example, their communication skills and, of course, one of the very real problems you face is that some of your clientele, some of your audiences, some of your receivers, do not have the same kinds of communication skills that you have. They don't have the abilities to handle language, the ability to structure dramatically the kinds of statements that you can structure. So we have, one hand, to look at these very carefully. We also have to consider, as we suggested, the attitudes of the receiver and sources involved. We have to analyze very carefully the receiver's way of perceiving the world; his attitude toward himself, his attitude toward you, his attitudes toward what you are trying to sell. All of these are relatively important kinds of products that affect the total communication outcome.

We have to consider, as we have already said, the knowledge level of the source and receiver. Too often we fail to recognize disparate levels of knowledge. Then, I think, we can talk about two other variables that may not be separable: the general social system within which the communication is occurring and the cultural context of it. I think these are quite similar kinds of notions.

After we have looked at sources and receivers, we can then overlay something about messages and channels. We can say that, to the extent that we can make those source attributes or variables correspond closely with the receiver variables, we will have affective communication. To the extent that there is a marked difference in the value taken by one of those variables on the part of the receiver, as opposed to the source, communication is obviously going to be minimumly effective. One aspect of the process of communication may, indeed, be to try and change some of the values of those receiver variables so that they correspond more closely to the source of factors we talked about. It is here I suppose that we worry about such things as messages; what elements, what codes should we use; how can we treat and structure the message; what kind of content will bring about these changes in the variables we are interested in, and so on. We don't look at the message as an end; we look at it only as a means toward this end--the end of perhaps bringing about certain changes in some of these or other receiver variables so that they do correspond more closely to those of the source, so that we also enhance the possibility of some kind of behavioral effect occurring. Well, that is a very brief kind of overview, of one possible way of looking at the communication process.

Letme just say in closing, that one of the things you do have going for you, which was a question that the preceding speaker closed with, is this possibility of communication and the mass media. Most of the research dealing with the effects of the media from Katz and Lazarsfeld on down to the kinds of things we are doing in our department come up with one very similar kind of finding; the mass media are not very effective in changing attitudes and changing behavior. There is not a kind of hypodermic affect operating here, where you inject people with a mass media and they run around changing; there is a kind of two-step flow going on. You have a small group of individuals within a community who are attending to the media; they, in turn, are using information derived from the media to influence and to affect others in an interpersonal context. Even if you don't have channels into the mass media there are times when you may have channels to those who may be able to exercise effective personal influence within the community structure. And to the extent that these people can be used to change attitudes toward a program, it is possible indeed that even minimal opportunities for use of mass media may be at least partially rectified by some kind of effective inter-personal communication network. If you can identify these people, and if you can communicate effectively with them, I think you have come a long way toward development of techniques for bringing about such changes in public attitudes.

Well, this is about all I had to say. In the final analysis all we have done is raised some more questions and presented another way of looking at the same process but, hopefully, this will be of some help to you in analyzing some of the kinds of communication questions and problems that you are faced with in your own professional activity.

ERIC Clearinghouse
JUN 11 1968
on Adult Education